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**Becoming Consumers: looking beyond wealth as an
explanation for villa variability. Perspectives from
the East of England**

CHRISTOPHER BARRY MARTINS

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Durham

Department of Archaeology

2004

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1 1 APR 2005

Becoming Consumers: looking beyond wealth as an explanation for villa variability. Perspectives from the East of England

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a comprehensive study of the social and psychological characteristics of modern consumer behaviour that is then used as an interpretative perspective with which to consider the evidence for a selection of villas in Roman Britain.

Existing explanations for the development and aggrandizement of these country properties of the elite are contextualised and the commonly-applied hypothesis of conspicuous consumption is critiqued. A quantifiable 'costing' model is introduced and consumer theories are summarised against a background of Roman archaeology. The consumer approach allows us to get closer to the decision-making of the individual and the determinants that can influence personal choice are considered.

Case-studies are offered that rigorously examine a range of apparently status-enhancing amenities on villas within a framework that focuses on specific consumption arguments. This process serves to question existing orthodoxies. Important and under-appreciated contexts in which social identity could be expressed were the Roman roads that passed close to villas, and this suggestion is explored.

A wider outcome of the burgeoning desire to consume in elite society may have been psychological change. It is possible that ingroup values evolved from being collectivist to become more individualistic in nature, and also that the selfhood of generations of owners gradually changed over time to be characterised as less interdependent and more independent. If so, this allows the proposal to be made that villas may in future be classified additionally in terms of psychic and not just architectural structure. To help gauge the potential of such arguments the author entered into an introductory collaboration with specialists across the social sciences.

Declaration

This thesis conforms to the limit of 100,000 words.

No part of this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree at any university.

No part of this thesis is the result of joint research.

All assistance is duly acknowledged. Material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases have been indicated.

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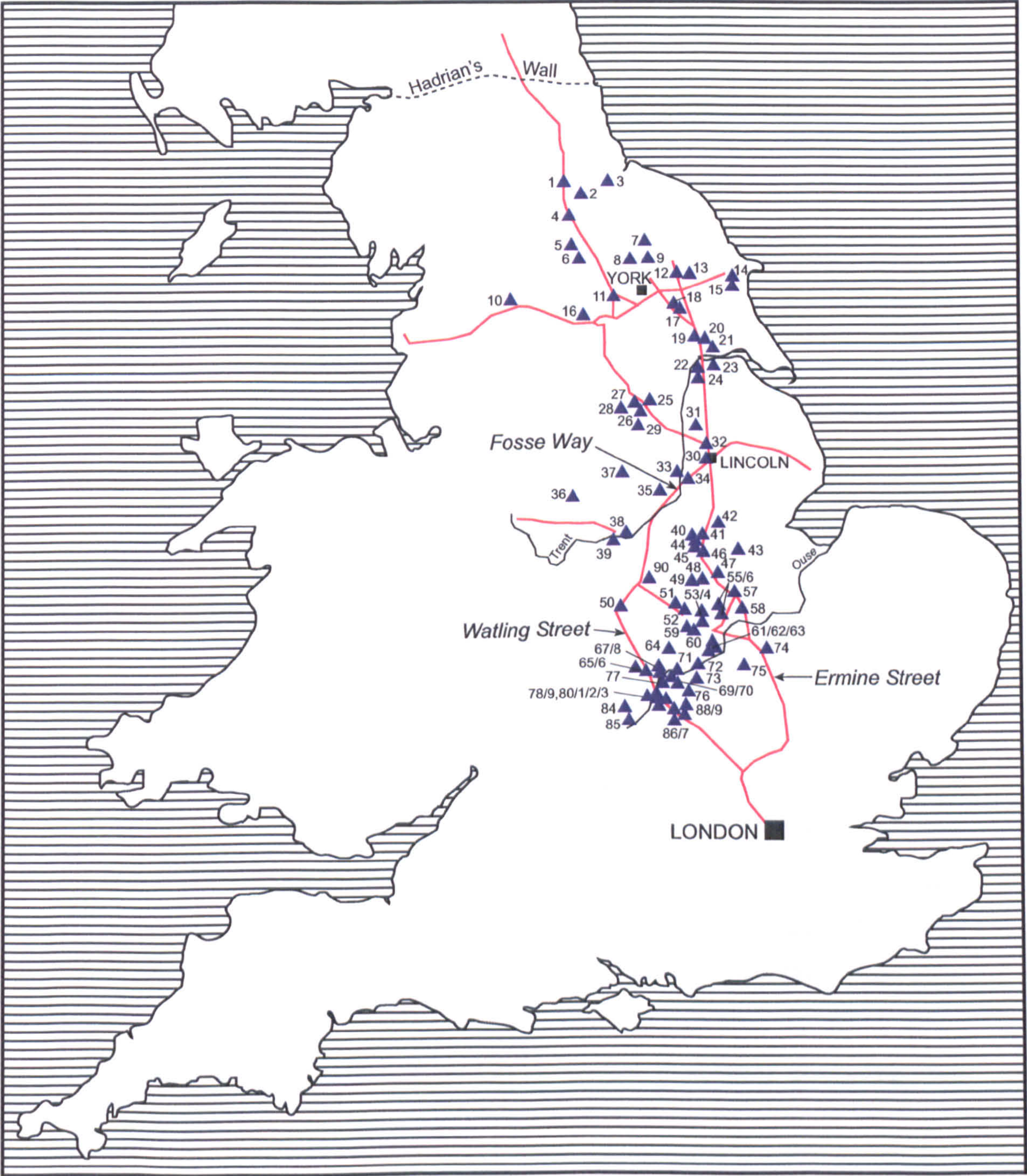
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1 Piercebridge	16 Dalton Parlours	31 Glentworth	46 Stainby	61 Ringstead	76 Ravenstone
2 Dalton-on-Tees	17 Hayton	32 Scampton	47 Great Casterton	62 Stanwick	77 Gayton
3 Ingleby Barwick	18 Cocoa Beck	33 Cromwell	48 Empingham	63 Redlands Farm	78 Cosgrove
4 Catterick	19 Newbald	34 Norton Disney	49 Whitwell	64 Brixworth	79 Deanshanger
5 Well	20 Brantingham	35 Southwell	50 Sapcote	65 Borough Hill	80 Potterspury
6 Castle Dykes	21 Welton Wold	36 Carsington	51 Medbourne	66 Nether Heyford I	81 Whittlebury
7 Beadlam	22 Winterton	37 Mansfield Woodhouse	52 Drayton II	67 Nether Heyford II	82 Towcester
8 Oulston	23 Horkstow	38 Barton-in-Fabis	53 Great Weldon	68 Harpole I	83 Mileoak
9 Hovingham	24 Roxby	39 Lockington	54 Stanion	69 Wootton Fields	84 Thenford
10 Gargrave	25 Loversall	40 Denton	55 Apethorpe	70 Piddington	85 Croughton
11 Wilstrop Hall	26 Stancil	41 Great Ponton	56 Cotterstock	71 Harpole II	86 Wymbush
12 Langton	27 Wadworth	42 Haceby	57 Upton	72 Wollaston	87 Bancroft
13 Wharram	28 Clifton	43 West Deeping	58 Haddon	73 Easton Maudit	88 Stanton Low
14 Rudston	29 Oldcoates	44 Stoke Rochford	59 Rushton	74 Godmanchester	89 Stantonbury
15 Harpham	30 Greetwell	45 North Stoke	60 Weekley	75 Great Staughton	90 Norfolk St. (Leicester)

Becoming consumers: The location of selected villas and other rural sites displaying architectural consumption in a study area within the east of England

Chapter One. Selecting a consumption perspective

1. *Framing the research: aims, methods, and methodology*

Introduction

This thesis asks whether modern consumer behaviour, which may be characterised as the psychological and social processes which people experience when they use possessions to create their sense of identity, can help to theorise our understanding of the category of housing in Roman Britain known as ‘villas’.

A number of factors have contributed to the decision to explore this issue. One consideration has been the career of the author as a self-employed consultant in marketing for 25 years, and therefore a continuing familiarity with the business practices of buying and selling and commercial transactions generally. This has been coupled with a growing enthusiasm for archaeology (Martins 1998). Another influence was a news item in *The Times* in 1998 that announced government plans to establish a ‘quality of life’ index and this prompted a parallel thought about elite lifestyles in the past. A third element was the publication that year of Greg Woolf’s work, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* in which chapter 7 ‘Consuming Rome’ identifies the phenomena of a ‘consumer revolution’ (ibid. 181) and ‘mass consumption’ (ibid. 193). Woolf provides a valuable introduction to the complexities of consumer theory, particularly on pages 170-1 and supporting notes 4-10. On the other hand it became apparent that some archaeologists and ancient historians have made, and continue to make, broad assumptions about consumer conduct without always thoroughly grounding their conclusions in theory.

1.1. Aims

This research therefore has three main aims. The first is to summarise and contextualise existing approaches that attempt to explain the motives to own and aggrandize a villa. The second is to seek a way of arguing that what we might today call ‘consumption’ was taking place, and arising from this to introduce consumer theories as an investigative framework by which to discuss the villa phenomenon. Finally, it is intended to use archaeological case-studies to suggest that consumer behaviour could be a plausible interpretation of the evidence that is recognised. Conclusions follow that infer concomitant social and psychological changes in the



nature both of the individual owners of villas and within wider society during the Roman period.

By selecting the East of England as its focus the thesis offers a perspective that counterbalances a predisposition in villa studies to concentrate on a relatively small number of properties, particularly some that are well-known, in the south of England and the Cotswolds.

A central tenet of this research has been to attempt to challenge prevailing historical and cultural orthodoxies in respect of villas in the Roman world with insights drawn from current work across a wide spectrum of the social sciences.

1.2. Methods

A research region loosely defined as the 'East of England' was selected. This area embraces what are recognised today as the counties of Yorkshire (and its constituent parts); Lincolnshire; Derbyshire; Nottinghamshire; Leicestershire/Rutland; Northamptonshire; plus a part of Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire. Admittedly this is an artificially abstracted part of the country. It includes parts or all of the putative Roman *civitates*, or administrative areas, of the former Iron Age tribes known as the Brigantes, Parisi and Corieltavi plus an adjacent part of that of the Catuvellauni (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 154). Such a cross-section offers an interpretive advantage because it has been argued that the variable nature of respective pre-Roman native societies, in terms of their patterns of settlement and social organisation, had a bearing on the subsequent development of villas (Millet 1990: 99-100). A further opportunity arises from the discernible clustering of villas to the north of the Catuvellaunan *civitas* (Branigan 1985: 128-9). Using recent data from Northamptonshire, a part of this tribal region, it has been possible to consider effects of consumer behaviour in a villa landscape that in places is quite densely settled.

There were no preconceived selection criteria at the outset as to which sites to include or exclude. The starting point was Eleanor Scott's *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain* (1993). References which offered some form of written summary beyond a recorded scatter of building debris (bricks, tile, tesserae etc.) were pursued. This is not to say that future work on consumption could not draw conclusions from the spatial and temporal inferences that such surface finds potentially reveal. Two

instances that might reward further research include finds of decorated samian tesserae which can be typically dated to the first or second centuries (Neal and Cosh 2002: 32) and fragments of blown window glass, usually associated with the later third and fourth centuries (Price 1990: 99).

The author visited the offices of the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) for Cambridgeshire, East Yorkshire plus Hull (formerly Humberside), Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and for the Peterborough area, and telephoned those for Buckinghamshire, Derbyshire, North Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and both South and West Yorkshire. Each office was contacted several times during the research period to see whether new villa finds had been made, check sources and ask questions specifically related to the study topic. Additionally, for the period from 1993, all national and relevant regional archaeological journals were consulted, plus the annual *Roman Britain: Sites Explored* section in *Britannia*. The publication of a corpus of mosaics covering much of the study area (Neal and Cosh 2002) provided an up-to-date source of information.

A defining characteristic of this research has been personal contact with a considerable number of villa excavators, whose work is either current or has been recent, together with specialist archaeologists, some of them living overseas. A list of these follows in Appendix 1. The objective was to raise with each of them a series of consumer behaviour issues that their published work had not touched upon. In some cases the author met the expert concerned for a full discussion, including Nicholas Cooper, Stephen Cosh, Roy Friendship-Taylor, Peter Halkon, Brian Hartley, Roger Ling, Rodney Mackey, Paul Middleton, Graham Morgan, Stephen Upex, Charmian Woodfield, Stephen Young and Bob Zeepvat, and also visited Butser to discuss work taking place there to reconstruct a villa. In other cases there was telephone contact or correspondence, as with Edward Biddulph, Ernest Black, Vicky Crosby, Andrew Fitzpatrick, Jonathan Hunn, Graham Keevill, Jennifer Laing, Ian Meadows, David Neal, Richard Pollard and Martin Tingle.

For the sake of brevity and clarity the villas under study are referred to throughout only by their most commonly used name. The attached gazetteer (Appendix 2) provides a brief summary for each, including a comment on possible consumption insights, together with details of location plus key references.

1.3. Methodology

The case to discuss 'villas' in a more demanding way (Scott and Gaffney 1987) is argued on the basis of the potential superficiality, subjectivity, inconsistency and selectivity that has been applied to archaeological evidence in previous studies. In this thesis, however, the theoretical question of what constitutes a 'villa' is considered of less significance than finding a well-defined and quantifiable way to suggest that consumer behaviour is taking place and one which then could facilitate intra- and inter-site evaluation. With this in mind a 'costing' formula was tested using the expertise of a quantity surveyor (after Faulkner 2000), and is applied below. The requirement to adopt a potentially more value-free and less subjective starting point is demonstrated by the case of two sites close to the River Humber. Welton (Mackey 1998) and Winterton (Stead 1976) are both labelled 'villas' by their excavators, and display a broadly similar chronology, but they contrast dramatically in size, style, configuration, embellishment and the resources employed. On the other hand a watermill complex at Wood Burcote has not been classified as a villa even though building D featured stone walls, a verandah, tiles, coloured plaster and probable tessellation (Turland 1977: 222). In contrast, Stanton Low had perhaps six structures of high quality but is only reluctantly called a villa (Woodfield with Johnson 1989: 260-1). An extreme example of the problem of classification occurs at Castor, near *Durobrivae*. Here a high-status building, constructed probably around AD300 and featuring wings, baths, a temple, a hypocaust and mosaics, has a rural location looking across the small town, but at an estimated 270m x 140m in size is considered too palatial to be a villa (Mackreth 1984: 22-5) and is excluded from this discussion.

This study therefore assumed at the outset that such sites should be viewed as part of a continuum of rural consumption (after Woolf 1998: 148, 153) and not prejudged or categorised. For reasons that will be offered below the focus of study is on buildings where the motive to display a degree of Roman-style architectural consumption is apparent, irrespective of the shape and nature of the structure or the construction methods used. Settlements where no such development is apparent have therefore been excluded. *Contra* the views of those who suggest that a pre-requisite of a villa is that it should be built in stone (e.g. Hingley 2004: 333), a number of wooden structures are featured because the sites display consumer behaviour in other architectural ways, for example with bath-houses at Hayton and Haddon. For

benchmarking reasons the housing culture of the late Iron Age and in ‘non-villa landscapes’ (e.g. Hingley 1989) during the Roman period is summarised briefly.

1.4. Recognising a ‘villa’

To illustrate past approaches, attention is drawn to the villa definitions that typically are offered by archaeologists, for example in Rivet (1964: 103-5); Collingwood and Richmond (1969: 133); Percival (1976: 13-15); Black (1987: 1-2); Frere (1987: 259); Millett (1990: 91-2; 1992: 2); Potter and Johns (1992: 84); Scott 1993: 1-4); Dark and Dark (1997: 43); Smith (1997: 10-11); de la Bédoyère (1999: 77); and Huskinson (2002: 129). Such examples differ in the emphasis they place on Latin terminology and literary inferences. A further contrast arises from the varying interpretation that is made of ownership motives, traditionally polarised between those of agricultural production and wealth display. In more recent years the favoured argument is that villas can help us to understand social relationships and the articulation of status in the Roman world. This situation is made more complex by apparent regional variations in attitudes towards the display of prestige through housing (Hingley 1989: 147-8; 158-61). A further problem faced by all such analysis, this study included, is the absence of definite evidence for the size of villa estate because this might well have been part of the overall financial ‘investment’ and therefore a reflection of standing in the community. One approach to this involved large-scale fieldwalking that examined evidence for pottery discard and manuring practices in the Maddie Farm Project in Berkshire (Gaffney and Tingle 1989). Another was an exercise in territorial delineation for Gorhambury villa in Hertfordshire that was based on making tentative comparisons between medieval manorial boundaries and putative equivalents for Roman villa estates (Neal and Hunn 1990: 98-102).

Nevertheless, it remains expedient for descriptive purposes to apply the commonly-used architectural typology offered by Collingwood and Richmond (1969: chapter 7) and updated by Perring (2002: chapter 4), but a more complex deconstruction into sub-types proposed by Smith (1997: chapters 2-12) is considered excessive (Rossiter 2000: 573). Briefly this classification recognises the basic categories of cottage, corridor, winged corridor, courtyard and aisled properties, plus variations, and all of these are represented in the East of England. It is observed that evolution from one type to another could take place (Percival 1996: 76), a process

often labelled 'progressive' (e.g. Wells 1999: 177). In contrast this thesis proposes that it is helpful to consider each site separately within its own distinct consumption profile and consequently that the consumer conduct of the respective owner(s) may be discernible. The possibility then arises that elite housing may additionally be understood more holistically as an interlude in the evolution of self-identity. If so, villas may in future be understood less in physical than in psychological terms, and this idea is discussed.

1.5. Approaching the data

More compromising than the absence of universally agreed descriptive criteria is the frequent non-comparability or compatibility of villa excavations and/or their subsequent reports and analyses. This situation is commonly experienced in archaeology and can be illustrated briefly.

Sites examined originally by antiquarians will lack evidence retrievable using today's more thorough and scientific techniques, as at Mansfield Woodhouse (Rooke 1787), or Castle Dykes (Lukis 1875). Such work was undertaken from around the 1500s for a variety of motives, by people of different educational backgrounds, and with inevitably variable standards for recording and contextualising the evidence (see Greene 2002: 1-19). As an illustration of the sort of issue that might influence early archaeological practice, an agenda during the early-eighteenth century was to try to demonstrate continuity of ancestry and unity of purpose between the Romano-Celtic elite and the Georgian aristocracy, who at one point labelled themselves 'the Roman Knights' (Ayres 1997: 91-9). Another continuing practice, one that lasted from the Renaissance for hundreds of years, was to collect antiquities (particularly from Italy) both for private satisfaction and public display (Haskell and Penny 1981). The English were particularly active in the late-eighteenth century (ibid. 67). Inevitably, and until the later 1800s, the accent in archaeology was placed on finding desirable objects in particular settings with little interest in more comprehensive excavation, whether by area or phase (Daniel 1975: 164). Identification of the villa elite with the perceived gentlemanly qualities of the British Empire (Hingley 2000) served further to bias the interpretation of the archaeological record. Perhaps no period can ever be free from a form of prejudice and there is a strong sense that discussion in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by those whose academic background in

the classics or ancient history encouraged a confident reliance on literary sources (Jones 1987: 90). In contrast to the frequently disappointing and incomplete excavations and reports of many antiquarians is their legacy of broadly or extremely accurate depictions of villa mosaics, for example those catalogued in different parts of the country by Lysons, Fowler and Artis (Neal and Cosh 2002: 3).

In more recent times not all excavated villas in this study area have yet been fully reported, for example, Gargrave (Brian Hartley pers.comm.) or Easton Maudit (Marc Line pers.comm.). At Empingham, preservation was limited and excavation partial (Cooper 2000: 20) whereas the opposite is true at Piddington where work and reporting continue (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.). Of over 175 possible villas in Lincolnshire (Scott 1993, minus inadvertent duplications) around 80% are posited from surface finds only. A combination of field walking, magnetometry and test-hole/trial trenching is all that has been possible on two villa sites at Wharram Le Street (Rahtz et al. 1986). Elsewhere, surface geology may have distorted the apparent pattern of villas; river gravels to the north of the Catuvellaunian *civitas* (Branigan 1985: 128) assist aerial photography, and therefore subsequent fieldwork, whilst silt deposits in the Vale of York may mask evidence (Hartley and Fitts 1988: 74). A specific example is the case of a villa confirmed recently from surface building debris following deep ploughing at Upton, Cambridgeshire (Middleton 2003). The clay soils had discouraged aerial survey and medieval ridge and furrow cultivation had masked surface features.

Insufficiently comprehensive excavations may have missed the main buildings on certain sites, as at Great Casterton (Corder 1951: 15) and Rudston (Stead 1980: 34) whilst in other cases no attempt was made to reach the lowest levels, for example, at Beadlam (Neal 1996a: 1). The advantage of having a better understanding of the immediate spatial context of the villa in order to avoid the bias of focusing just on buildings can be illustrated at Winterton (Goodburn 1978). The converse is also true, however, at Dalton Parlours (Yarwood 1990: 273) where nearby cropmarks that were spotted after the villa excavation suggest where earlier phases are likely to be found, and as a result future excavation could alter chronological interpretation. At Stanwick, research within a 30 hectare strip beyond a villa has made it possible to examine the spatial organisation of what may have been an entire estate of buildings over time, though this area presumably did not coincide with all of the land that was owned. The discovery of a cluster of enclosed stone-built circular and rectangular

farms and individual houses dated from the second to the fourth centuries has led to the site's re-interpretation as a possible 'village' (Vicky Crosby pers.comm.).

Post-excavation problems also affect interpretation. There has been souvenir hunting in the past, for example the removal in the eighteenth century of the main mosaic at Piddington (Neal and Cosh 2002: 250), and more recently a case of theft at Brantingham (ibid. 324). There are instances of finds being lost, as at Beadlam (Neal 1996a: 3) and Stanton Low (Charmian Woodfield pers.comm.). Textual ambiguity is possible, which will be illustrated below by referring to the varying descriptions of imitation marble wall-plaster. It is also important, where the quality of the site records permit, to approach past interpretation critically, as at Langton, where villa enclosures were labelled as fortifications (Corder and Kirk 1932: 26). Over 400 boxes of finds material from Drayton II remain unopened (Richard Pollard pers.comm.). The gazetteer accompanying this study briefly refers to such problems of perspective for each site, but the point can sometimes also be made for whole areas, and, for instance, that centred on the town of *Durobrivae* is generally under-represented. A combination of unscientific work by the antiquarian Artis (1828), and poorly-reported rescue archaeology since the 1970s, has resulted in a disjointed and superficial overall picture (Upex, forthcoming).

Finally, inadvertent errors or omissions can occur even in the most recent and thorough archaeological work and may confuse and contribute to misinterpretations from a number of consumption perspectives. Examples follow that have arisen in Volume 1 of *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (Neal and Cosh 2002), and also see Ling (2003: 625-6) on this issue. At Drayton II the location of mosaic 21.3 (ibid. 80) is incorrectly given as room 1c instead of a room (10) in the north-west corner of the building (Richard Pollard pers.comm.), and this could provide a different perspective on how the villa functioned socially. For Oulston (ibid. 348), a grid reference is given that places the villa near the top of a hill with extensive views, whereas the antiquarian text that is quoted, but only partially, later refers to siting in a valley. A geophysical survey undertaken in 1995 at Croughton failed to detect an east-west range of the villa, the subsequent excavation of which has revealed a high quality mosaic, but this was not revealed in time to prevent the authors from drawing the wrong conclusion that the villa had been 'fairly modest' (ibid. 235). By overlooking a major reference for Piddington (R.M. and D.E.Friendship-Taylor 1989a), the authors missed the only published comment for the villa that refers to 'two successive

tessellated floors' in room 9. This observation represents a possible insight into fashion sensitivities towards mosaic pavements that is discussed below.

Approximately 90 villas in the study area have provided evidence considered potentially illustrative of consumer behaviour. In some cases the archaeology and reporting has been sufficiently thorough to enable either a range of arguments to be made, or a substantial point, whereas incomplete data elsewhere may permit only the inclusion of a brief illustrative note. In other instances specific consumption questions not answered in publications were put directly to those who have excavated or written-up the site and their comments are incorporated within the text. Inevitably, the author could be accused of abstracting material selectively as the basis for an exercise in special pleading. Whilst this is a risk in any research context, care has been taken to provide and discuss examples where consumer arguments do not appear to work. A cautionary note concerns the estimated number of villas in lowland Britain. Whilst this is usually put at around 1000 (e.g. Potter and Johns 1992: 84; de la Bédoyère 1999: 85), it is the impression of Jeremy Taylor (pers.comm.) that the real figure may have been twice that, as indeed is suggested (with caveats) by evidence from diagnostic surface scatters (Scott 1993: 5-6). If so, and depending on their location and chronology, this could have a bearing on the consumption patterns identified in this study for reasons that become clear.

In a number of instances it has been felt appropriate to draw evidence from villas elsewhere in Britain, either to support a point being made, or to demonstrate that the example from this study area was not a one-off.

1.6. Interpreting motives

Implicit in a study which seeks to throw light on decision-making is the difficulty of interpreting motives. There is a danger in having to assume the 'operative subjective meanings' of those concerned (Campbell 1994a: 25) and it is clearly difficult to contextualise these within the socio-cultural beliefs and values of the period. So-called 'monomotives' for behaviour are discredited, motives may not be universal, comparable conduct can arise from quite different intentions, initial motives can be replaced by increasing degrees of habit and, as psychoanalysts observe, people may not even be conscious of their true motives (ibid. 30-9). A person's conduct towards possessions can be explained by alternative motives and

meanings (ibid. 45-6) and this makes the interrogation of past behaviour through the archaeological record particularly complex. Because of this it is a tenet of this thesis that consumer theory at least represents a cohesive and acknowledged framework for discussion that can serve as a substitute for the introspective and random opinions of myriad observers.

1.7. Native settlement – a benchmark

This section will look briefly at categories of non-villa domestic settlement and make points that have general relevance to rural areas in this study region. The objective is to establish a benchmark that will serve to contrast villas both with the housing culture that preceded the conquest and also with those dwellings that characterised other parts of the villa landscape during later centuries. Villas generally are taken to be rectangular structures, partially or wholly built in stone, and featuring some or many ‘Roman’ amenities (Millet 1990: 92). Excluded here is discussion of any apparent connections in the landscape between villas and non-villas (see, for example, Dark and Dark [1997: 63-4]), or of settlement types in the native landscape to the north and west of Britain (ibid. chapter 4). Reviews which take sub-regional variations into account are available in Hingley (2004) and King (2004).

The basic and widespread residential unit in the Iron Age was the roundhouse (but see Moore [2003] for a suggestion that some rectangular buildings of this period should be taken into account) and these were constructed usually from timber, wattle and thatch (Hingley 1989: 31). Most were from 6m to 15m in diameter, had a cone-shaped roof and were supported by a single or double ring of posts (Haselgrove 1999: 117). It was a house type that evolved from the Bronze Age and continued as an indigenous tradition into the fifth century AD (Pope 2003). Millet (1995: 35) views the largest of these as ‘spectacular’ ... ‘imposing’ ... (and expressing) ‘status’. Many of these circular structures were isolated farmsteads or comprised small groups in compounds, usually within enclosures (Hingley 1989). On some sites, roundhouses were replaced in time with rectangular buildings (Branigan 1982).

Rectangular properties, whether found on former Iron Age sites or elsewhere, could be constructed with up to three rooms, and in wood and daub, with stone foundations and timber above, or wholly in stone (Hingley 1989: 35-7). A more developed ‘cottage’ form, incorporating a passage, is often a precursor to a villa (ibid.

37-9). Two further residential traditions, discussed in a case-study below, are for roundhouses built in stone and for aisled rectangular buildings (in some cases called villas), either of timber or stone construction, with both types concentrated in the east Midlands, but with the latter represented also in central southern England (Smith 1963).

The post-colonial discourse of a recent generation of researchers coupled with a change in the balance of field archaeology in favour of non-villa settlements has dramatically increased the level of interest in native sites (Hingley 2000: 154-5). An example is a recent study of the Holme-on-Spalding Moor area in east Yorkshire that combined excavations with non-invasive techniques (Halkon and Millett 1999). The work revealed the limited social evolution of a landscape of roundhouses that showed little interest in 'Roman' material culture and changed hardly at all throughout the Roman period. This was despite the development here of a coarse pottery industry and the location of the area within a few kilometres of an important Roman road. The area in which continuity was apparent contrasted with a narrow corridor of change that paralleled the communications link (Millett 1999: 226).

A new wave of roundhouse studies has tried to interpret the cosmological rather than functional principles that appear to have structured the way these buildings were experienced. These are summarised by Haselgrove (2004: 18) and include a favoured orientation towards the rising sun in mid-winter and a sense that the shape of the house served to imitate both the daily passage of the sun and the annual cycle of the seasons, thereby influencing how internal space was used.

The persistence of the roundhouse form may be placed in context. Estimates for the proportion of villas compared to non-villa settlements vary from 1% (Millett 1990: 186) to 5% (Bédoyère 1999: 77), or taking the diversity of regional landscapes into account, a figure of 15% in lowland areas can be balanced by their near absence in upland areas (Hingley and Miles 2002: 161).

Despite this numerical domination, the roundhouse has been discussed in broadly disparaging terms for most of the last 100 years. Characteristic comments are that these were the homes of the 'peasant poor' (Haverfield 1915: 45), and of a 'primitive type' (Richmond 1963: 126), and represented a way of life 'to be endured' (Alcock 1996: 68). Collingwood and Richmond (1969: 176) suggest that the excavation of such sites was to be avoided because some people equate erudition 'with a handsome or copious yield of objects'. Hingley (2000: 146-7) attributes the

origin of such negative perceptions to associations that were made by Victorian and later archaeologists and educators between the Roman Empire and British imperial expansion. This served to isolate native culture as archaic in comparison to that of the more progressive and civilised Romans, especially when viewed in the context of the presence of roundhouses in native African society.

Contrary to the suggestion (Millett, above) that larger roundhouses may have carried more prestige it is not certain that settlement scale is always conclusive (Haselgrove 2004: 18). It seems more likely that wealth in the late Iron Age was invested in portable material culture rather than through the medium of architectural display that was preferred during the Roman period (James and Rigby 1997: 54). Nor is there evidence to suggest that roundhouses required especially significant resources to build, representing a matter of three weeks for one person for a small construction, or a day for a group of 20 (Pope 2003: 181). Instead it is through the ritual deposition of metalwork, other artefacts and hoards that the implication of ostentatious consumption amongst a small elite can be suggested in the late Iron Age (Haselgrove et al. 2001: 31). Uncertain is whether the motives represent individual or community values (Hunter 1997: 120-1). Certainly there are signs at this time of a growing focus on individual identity, noted for example in the elite burials of south eastern Britain in the late Iron Age (Haselgrove 1999: 130), and in the greater attention that was being paid to personal appearance (Haselgrove 1997; Hill 1997).

It will be demonstrated below that more self-aware and materialistic attitudes can mean a change in balance between collectivist and individualistic values within a society. If this evolution were the case at the time of the conquest then perhaps it continued to be manifested during the Roman period, and through the new medium of architectural consumption in the villa.

1.8. Contextualising architectural consumption

In contrast with the Iron Age, it is no longer unusual to find the topic of consumer behaviour discussed in studies of Roman Britain. For example, Ferris (1995) asks whether consumption on villas was necessarily that of the elite and if regional attitudes towards consuming can be detected; Cooper (1996) suggests that accessibility rather than ideology might explain demand for the Roman-style ceramics; and Matthews (1997) notes that Roman artefacts were consumed

selectively in the north west and for basically symbolic reasons. The conduct known as conspicuous consumption (Veblen [1899] 1925) will be shown to have become in recent years the dominant paradigm for explaining villa construction and aggrandizement. A 'consumer revolution' characterised by new approaches to consumption is the context offered to explain the widespread appropriation of Roman material culture to shape personal identities for the majority in Gaul (Woolf 1998: 169-74). Fincham (2002a: 34) argues that the concept of Romanization may essentially be viewed as consumer behaviour and acknowledges (2002b: 99) that incorporating consumption models could further improve studies of Fenland landscapes. This burgeoning discourse within Roman studies may have been prompted by American work examining the documentary evidence for consumer choice in historical archaeology (Spencer-Wood 1987; Klein and LeeDecker 1991; Gibb 1996), and which includes an introduction to consumption theory (Henry 1991). Some archaeologists appear to have a general awareness of academic debate on the topic of consumption.

A central issue is whether what we recognise as consumer motivation today, a psychological state in which needs have become desires (Campbell 1987), could have existed in Roman Britain. Discretionary consumption is usually considered impossible in 'traditional societies' other than through hoarding, benefaction or conspicuous waste by those in power (Mason 1981: 48). This is because status was fixed largely by the privilege of birth and there was little scope to express identity or to achieve social mobility (ibid. 37-8). The pattern in ancient Rome is seen as an exception, with members of the elite engaging in competitive prestige-driven 'conspicuous consumption' (ibid. 57). It was also possible for some individuals to be successful and acquire wealth and status symbols that expressed an upward movement in society but as *nouveaux riches* there were limits to their acceptance at the highest levels (Hope 2000: 142-6). This topic is discussed further below.

Literary sources demonstrate how these interrelated issues of ostentatious display and social honour were central to the lives of the Roman elite. An introduction to this material and its relevance to villas is available from Ackerman (1990: 35-43) and in the wider context of houses and society from Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 143-5). Examples include moralising literary commentary on the theme of *luxuria*, or self-indulgent living, for example, by Cicero (*Off.* 1.30), Seneca (*Ep.* 86. 1-7) and The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 9.58. 117-8); the hedonistic descriptions of his

properties by The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 2.17; 9.36); the satirical interpretation of the wealth of the freedman Trimalchio (Petronius, *Satyricon*); together with the passing of a succession of largely ineffectual sumptuary laws (Berry 1994: 77-8). Such references are open to interpretation and span several centuries, but are supported by archaeological evidence of the apparently extravagant lifestyles of wealthy house owners which indicate at least a degree of individuality (e.g. Zanker 1998: 141-2).

Such examples are seen by Romanists to fit the conspicuous consumption model (Veblen 1925), but it will be argued in this study that this has only restricted value. Nevertheless, should such intentionality in consumption decisions be recognisable, questions arise as to the role of material culture within the social processes taking place. Of particular interest is the degree to which villas conform to a template which may be construed as broadly 'Roman', or whether any variability would suggest that the owners were participating in a more individualised social discourse. If so, the implication is that scope existed to act with independence within the prevailing framework of social conventions and practices. A traditional suggestion (e.g. Percival 1996: 83) is that such differences in villa design in the north-western provinces partly reflect Roman values but also factors of "locality, climate and practical use". In contrast, Woolf (1998) recognises the possibility of 'personal preference' (ibid. 171) and localised elite competitiveness through architectural display (ibid. 157).

This study will therefore consider the scope for discerning personal decision-making through the villa record. This deconstruction of elite housing as an expression of consumer conduct is not isolated from mainstream archaeological thought. To the contrary, consumption issues are recognised as germane to future research agendas, for example, the themes of class hierarchy (Hill 2001: 16) or privileged life-styles (James 2001b: 206). On the other hand, certain long-held preconceptions may no longer be justified, and some have challenged the notion of a direct association between affluence, prestige and villa ownership (Hingley 1989: 11; Taylor 2001: 49).

1.9. Possible judgementalism

Discussion of villas can be complicated through the injudicious use of language. Developments such as building to a rectangular plan in stone, constructing a bath-

house or hypocaust, laying a mosaic or applying decorative wall-plaster are often imbued with subjective overtones of enhancement, luxury and progress. For example, they are labelled an 'embellishment' (Millett 1990: 92), considered 'refinements' (de la Bédoyère 1999: 77), seen as integral to 'architectures of abundance' (Perring 2002: chapter 10) and summed up as 'sophistication' (Huskinson 2002: 129). The broadly accepted typology (above) that uses classifications like 'cottage' and 'courtyard' inevitably also conveys unintended preconceptions. Such descriptions tend to create a hypothetical benchmark by which villas elsewhere, including other parts of the Roman world, are then consciously or unconsciously assessed, i.e. as being more or less grand, improved and luxurious. Genuine efforts by archaeologists to recognise underlying patterns and argue for conformity have therefore inadvertently introduced judgementalism in respect of comparable social standing.

The prevailing and perhaps narrow orthodoxy for villas is that size mattered (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1999: 86-7) and that competitive spending on exterior and/or interior pretension correlated with prestige (e.g. Perring 2002: 215). The presence of mosaics is frequently taken as the defining indicator of affluence and ostentatious display (e.g. Smith 1997: 300-1). Only rarely is it proposed that more 'modest' villas might be taken as trying to 'impress', perhaps with a second storey or external decorative work, an interpretation offered by Dark (1994: 26). These approaches make no allowance for the possibility that status might alternatively have been articulated in archaeologically invisible or less visible ways, for example, by burying a hoard, managing stock or through feasting, controlling ritual, benefaction, interior furnishings, collections of art, matrimonial alliance, municipal rank and privileges, ownership of slaves, fashionability in dressing, personal grooming, or literacy etc. Uniqueness in villa adornment, i.e. their 'personalisation', may also have been a significant stylistic expression of social cachet, and this idea is discussed.

Oversimplified categorisation of villas in terms of their degree of grandeur is also time-static. No allowance is made for relativism, and the possibility that prestige might accrue to an owner who was the first in a local area to introduce a particular amenity, or who gradually acquired more such improvements than near neighbours or peers. As an example, Potter (1986: 106-7) presumes that manifest differences in the late-third century between Whitton villa in South Wales, Gadebridge Park villa in Hertfordshire and a native farmstead in Northumberland represent a 'wide range of

social rank'. This argument obviously cannot be supported when the structures literally are hundreds of miles apart. A more appropriate judgement would be based on comparisons with other settlements within a regional context and would take into account the trajectory of development of each building over time.

1.10. Considering status

Another difficulty inherent in making assumptions about the perceived social weighting of what today are called status marking or 'positional goods' (Hirsch 1976) arises from the possibility that the desirability of such items could vary over time. A further consideration is knowing how to evaluate that part of the motivation to acquire any particular amenity which owed to more practical considerations like comfort (which is itself a culture-specific concept: Crowley 2001), as opposed to symbolic considerations. The latter might include the wish to be associated with 'Roman' values but these were themselves heterogeneous (Woolf 1998: 7). Such issues suggest the unhelpfulness of broad statements, for instance that 'larger villas' with 'visual impact' stood for privilege, whilst 'medium-sized' houses were only for the 'modestly wealthy' or the 'successful farmer' (Scott 2000: 168-9). A literature exists which examines how the personal qualities and social image of consumers can be interpreted from their material possessions (e.g. Christopher and Schlenker 2000; Gosling and Jin Ko 2002). This is introduced and its relevance to studies of Roman Britain assessed.

To be discussed below is the suggestion, currently popular among archaeologists, that social prestige was the basic rationale for villa aggrandizement. The argument is summed up by Dark (1994: 27) who says that villas were 'an elite statement built into the landscape'. This proposal has been clouded, however, by the conflation of two traditions in status theory, the structuralist and constructivist (Solomon 1999: 64-7). The former (after Weber 1978) acknowledges a patterning of class, power, privilege and social order derived from the inequality of resource ownership and opportunities, itself invariably an outcome of birth, inter-marriage or inheritance. It is a broadly accepted explanation for the Roman world (Jongman 1988), although a degree of upward mobility could be achieved (ibid. 263-73). In contrast is the modern understanding of status as an aspirational process in which personal consumption is planned in order to acquire a desired identity. Today, the

acquisition of possessions is often intended deliberately to impress others and define social position. Such contrasting models of society are understood in sociology as the 'Purely Traditional' and the 'Purely Capitalist' (Turner 1988: 17-21) with the ownership of wealth making little contribution to genuine prestige in the former, yet being of central importance to social honour in the latter. If the ownership of a villa was to become the defining symbol of status in post-conquest society compared with what mattered before, then such a transformation of attitudes has to be explained. The lack of certainty arises because the nature of elite motivation is not made explicit. Did these people choose to convey status through villa ownership because they were already powerful, through inheritance, or was status, and therefore power, acquired because society in Britain in the Roman period embraced the idea that prestige could be conveyed through the medium of architectural display?

Arguably this question can only be answered through site by site contextualization in respect of chronology, location relative to other settlements, plus an understanding of the earlier and subsequent trajectory of the development of that villa. Sweeping generalisations about the rigidity of the social hierarchy, and therefore the unlikelihood of social mobility achieved on the basis of wealth ownership and lifestyle, may therefore be more difficult to sustain. Besides, they do not accord with the evidence which is characterised by almost complete variability in the mix, configuration and relative scale of household amenities, and this diversity argues against the value of generalising.

1.11. Looking at variability

Certainly, favoured types of villa structure predominate (classified above) but explanations for this vary and tend to concentrate on considerations of supply and not demand. For example, Smith (1997: 284) argues that this broad patterning owes to the influence of architects and administrators (but see Millett 1998: 397), and a contributory factor may have been the continuance of craft traditions and familiar construction practices (Perring 2002: chapter 5). Contextual evidence for building procedures in the wider Roman world, including the role of architects, the processes of design and planning and detailed considerations of construction are summarised by Taylor (2003: see Introduction and chapter 1). The possible involvement and influence in decision-making by the client, or patron, is noted (*ibid.* 9, 24, 60, 216).

From a consumer perspective it is arguable that insights from fashion theory may also be relevant to the diffusion of innovations and these are introduced. This perspective may explain why a particular style of villa was selected in the first place, and why it was then 'embellished' in the way that it was. A majority of archaeologists have explained such patterning either in terms of different degrees of wealth or unequal levels of 'Romanization'. In an alternative model, J.T. Smith (e.g. 1978, 1997) has proposed that kin-group relationships, patterned by the conduct of shared inheritance, would result in recognisable, if varied, architectural expressions of the 'unit system' or 'dual occupancy' on villas. Beyond such points, however, there is no theoretical framework through which to try to understand the myriad inconsistencies in size and style. It will be shown that these appear unrelated to affluence, and therefore need explaining as variations to a perceived 'Roman' template. They are manifested in those amenities and decorative approaches which Smith's plan-dominated discussion tends to ignore.

That ambiguities and puzzling circumstances occur in houses during the Roman period can be illustrated briefly, and it is the central tenet of this study that consumer approaches at least offer a theoretical context in which such issues can be discussed. Some of the architectural discrepancies relate to unexpected enhancements to roundhouses built in stone. For example, at Ringstead (Jackson 1980: 20-1) a mosaic was laid in a circular, presumed domestic building. Coloured wall-plaster was found in circular structure H at Winterton (Liversidge 1976: 287). It seems likely there was window glass in the round building at Redlands Farm (Edward Biddulph pers.comm.). Unusually, the roundhouse at Piercebridge had internal subdivisions (Harding 1984: 19), although it is possible that timber roundhouses had these and the evidence has not survived. Equivalent cases of divergence from what logically ought to be a broadly predictable repertoire of refinements apply also to rectangular properties. For instance, Carsington villa featured a central room, hypocaust, possible mosaic, probable bath-house and window glass, yet had no wall-plaster (Ling and Courtney 1981: 73). More hypocausts were constructed during the life of the small aisled Drayton II villa (Whatley 1998) than in an equivalent length of time at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Black 1985: 77). Despite being heated and plastered, the apsidal reception room at Piercebridge had only a flagstone floor, even though a contemporary bath-suite featured a patterned mosaic (Harding 1984: 12). In contrast, the probably high-status apsidal wing at Dalton Parlours, that featured a Medusa

mosaic and wall-plaster, incorporated no hypocaust (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990: 34). There was a bath-house, rare coffered ceiling plaster, hypocaust and coarse tessellation but apparently no window glass at West Deeping (Jonathan Hunn pers.comm.). Offering reasons for this level of variance from what is often considered a stereotypical suite of such facilities therefore is a central concern for this study and validates its focus on so-called villa 'improvements'.

1.12. Justifying a consumer perspective

Finally this study can be justified by the fact that archaeologists already discuss villas over time and space within a context specifically recognisable today as 'consumer culture', albeit centred on a small elite, but without making this explicit. The point can be made using a recent study, *The Roman House in Britain* (Perring 2002). Taken for granted, and unexplained, is that architecture expressed what we would call consumption meanings. It is a process dependent on semiosis, or symbolic communication, and is discussed below. Perring argues, for example, that it was commonly accepted that property stood for 'surplus .. wealth .. power ... political affiliation ... elite cultural identity ... social control ... and systems of belief' (ibid.4-5). Implied here is meaning transfer, the attachment of private and public values to possessions, and a defining characteristic of what we understand as consumer behaviour (McCracken 1990: chapter 5). Writing in a postmodern world characterised by mass consumption, Perring and other archaeologists may have been unable to distance themselves from the subjectivity and periodicity of our society, and the widely recognised motives of consumers today.

The implications of this can be demonstrated briefly and are discussed in detail below. It will be shown that a central assumption is made by Romanists that the elite were intellectually involved in the process of social comparison. Material culture is being interpreted as a mediator of social relationships and class hierarchy. Possessions have been identified and accepted as a medium of creative communication in society. Tacitly proposed is that the meanings of 'Roman' objects were widely known, accepted and shared both by the elite and those whom they wished to impress. It has been taken as read that consumption was encoded within a system of symbols or signs (i.e. architectural display). Villa ownership has been argued as capable of expressing social identity and a personal lifestyle. These

buildings have been viewed as aspirational, their owners subject to reference group rivalry and anxious to achieve differentiation. Such behaviour represents psychological motivation, but how this came about has not been explained. Why the elite might suddenly have become receptive to new things is not discussed, nor why this mind-set should apparently remain unaltered for centuries. That household improvements, and especially mosaics, were status markers to a greater or lesser degree, is just assumed, and also that these automatically carried connotations of social, economic and political prestige. The tension that may have existed between a cultural convention to conform and a person's wish to appear different is not debated. The only consumer theory offered, that of conspicuous consumption, is now seen to be wholly inadequate, even by archaeologists (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 6). The inference throughout is that the elite found consuming to be a desirable experience, but why? The likelihood that cross-cultural consumption practices arose is not considered. Probable stages within consumption, those of initial decision-making, acquisition, actual use and subsequent discard have not been separated. The possibility that gender, generational, tribal and idiosyncratic factors could affect consumer behaviour on villas is overlooked.

What this amounts to is an interpretation that is back-projected (unquestioningly) on to the Roman world of an everyday life characterised by the modern sociological construct known as 'symbolic interactionism', in which possessions act subconsciously to structure social reality (Solomon 1983). This process is made possible today because of our modern media of communication but how such signalling of cultural meanings in Romano-British society was learned and how it worked in practice is not considered in an explicit fashion. In summary, consumption approaches have been introduced by Romanists, but not theorised.

This agenda can be raised because the last 20 years has seen a new multi-disciplinary interest in consumption. Consumer behaviour is now examined (Solomon 2002) in the context of, for example, anthropology (material culture within a society's value system); history (the changing role of material culture in society over time); micro-economics (a person's use of resources); psychology (how possessions influence individual behaviour); social psychology (how possessions affect the conduct of people within social groups); and sociology (the influence of possessions in group interaction). This evolution is summarised by Campbell (1991; 1995b) and in detail for most of these approaches in Miller (1995a).

Consumer behaviour today (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 43) is recognised as an outcome of the interaction of external determinants (e.g. culture, social relationships) with individual influences (e.g. personality, motives, self-concept) and these considerations are discussed below. One outcome is a new recognition of the cosmological comparisons that can be observed between consumption in traditional and in modern societies (Miller 1995b: 25-6). Another is to question whether objects have ever served a solely practical purpose. A further result has been to identify the historical precedent of consumer societies. These have been defined (Glennie 1995: 165) as times of the increased per person acquisition, and fashion-led acquisitiveness, of material culture, and of accelerated social mobility and emergent individualism. At issue is the degree to which lifestyles are centred on consumption (ibid. 169). Such mass consumer behaviour is recognised as having started from the sixteenth century (ibid. 164) but a curiosity is why, with the exception of Mason (1981), there has been no discussion by sociologists of consumption in the ancient world. A factor, perhaps, will be the perception that only a small elite was involved, but Colin Campbell (pers.comm.) acknowledges that consumer researchers 'have forgotten about Roman civilisation' and he cannot explain why.

The focus of this study, however, is limited intentionally to those rural sites in Roman Britain where consumer behaviour may be characterised as exceptional and often spectacular. It therefore excludes, other than in passing, the consideration of those practices of procurement that may be categorised as 'ordinary consumption' (Gronow and Warde 2001). The consumer issues associated with the latter would support a separate piece of research.

1.13. Narrowing the focus

It is against this background that this thesis topic appears legitimate. Excluded, however, is the discussion of portable material culture in terms of consumer behaviour but examples illustrating the potential for such a study are introduced where appropriate. Nor does this work try to situate consumption within the framework of exchange in the Roman world (for a recent review see Temin 2001). It is not intended, either, to discuss the economy of Roman Britain and whether the nature of this was 'substantive' and largely embedded within social relations, or more 'formal' and an outcome of the kind of rational economic decision-making more

typical of modern market behaviour. With caveats, Hodder (1979) notes a gradual evolution from embeddedness towards a more competitive and open market environment. In contrast, Salway (1993: 427-30) does not see such systems as mutually exclusive. He considers it possible for exchange to have taken place that owed both to social relations and commercial transactions, with the two perhaps co-existing and intersecting. Rush (1995: 146) recognises that such socio-economic engagements could vary over time and space. A review of the substantivist-formalist debate may be found in Wilk (1996: chapter 1).

Instead, the position adopted here is that such macro-issues are not immediately relevant; exceptional 'investment' is shown to have been focused on villas, however resourced, and it is this extraordinary and unprecedented behaviour that most concerns this thesis. This is contextualised by Wilk (1989: 299-300), who points out that houses reflect 'allocation decisions', for example whether to use a workforce to build or alternatively be productive in other ways, and whether to trade resources for construction materials and furnishings instead of other preferences. For want of evidence the consumption unit within a villa will be taken simplistically as 'being an owner' making domestic decisions in a relationship with a family or household. The strengths and weaknesses of such a position are introduced by Narotzky (1997: 114-21).

This study also intends to avoid entering the continuing debate centred on the acculturative process known as 'Romanization' (most recently updated in Keay and Terrenato 2001; especially the paper by James: chapter 16). Instead the starting point that is taken is to view 'Romanization as a change in patterns of consumption' (Woolf 1998: 171). It is this issue, examined through evidence of the possible influence of individual consumer agency on the patterning of villas, that focuses this work. The wider ideological framework for this may therefore be one proposed by Dyson (2003: 105). He suggests that the influence of Rome in creating desirable 'lifestyle options' should be understood less as politically-inspired imperialism, than as a model to be likened to 'American commercial imperialism'. The villa was one expression of the new universe of goods that characterised the Roman period and for reasons that will be discussed some or many of the elite chose to consume this new context for living.

Finally, it must be conceded that architecture is not the only expression of villa consumer behaviour that might have been considered. It could be argued that the

subtleties of demand that arise, for example from personality traits or inner values, are more likely to be revealed through items in more day-to-day use, such as dress accessories or tableware. One problem associated with the discussion of a house is the scale of the investment that it represented, and which made it a long-term rather than a spur of the moment decision. Whilst this in theory would still apply today, note may be taken of remarks on a website addressing would-be purchasers in Lincolnshire from house-builder www.dgm-properties.com/main which refer to 'dialogue ... consultation ... personal taste ... personalisation ... options ... choice ... the home you've made your own'.

A further issue is that in the ancient world a house provided a context in which social and business affairs were conducted by the elite, and there was perhaps a lesser focus on activities of the more private or domestic kind that might reveal personal preferences. It is the view of Dominic Perring (pers.comm.) that social constraints arising from the cultural and political life of villa owners afforded them reduced scope to express individual choice. On the other hand, architectural evidence has tended to survive, both in quantity and to a quality, that makes a consumer behaviour approach more workable and structured (and therefore comparable) than is the case, say, with brooches or glass vessels. Evidence of changes to a villa and its amenities also creates scope to assess decision-making diachronically and invariably this would have represented the involvement of several or many generations, and potentially is therefore an expression of the influence of differing people at different times. The remains of villa architecture allow us at least to challenge those orthodoxies that rely on wider social and economic explanations, but which overlook the possible influence of consumer psychology. The archaeological survival of houses makes the purpose of this thesis a workable proposition.

1.14. The approach

This study comprises three main elements: a detailed introduction to consumer theories; a modern-day exercise in 'costing' villa construction and a range of villa amenities; plus a series of case-studies in which consumption arguments are set against archaeological evidence. The last includes the application of consumer behaviour approaches to wall-plaster, enclosures, bath-houses, mosaics, window glass and hypocausts, as well as aspects of house styling, and also to several specific villas.

Excluded is discussion of architectural ornament because the survival of evidence for this is often more patchy (*cf* Blagg 2002).

Literature exists which proposes that houses, cross-culturally, are a reflection of consumer behaviour and such work is discussed (e.g. Wilk 1990; Blanton 1994). This approach has necessitated a further methodological response. Researchers of consumer decision-making today never apply their insights to the ancient world. These experts work in fields as varied as cross-cultural psychology, personality studies and social theory. It has been the procedure of the author therefore to seek the opinions of such authorities, in some cases worldwide (Appendix 3), to enquire whether their findings could be sufficiently universal to the analysis of human evolution so as to make them possibly applicable to the past.

This overall strategy will reasonably be labelled anachronistic and western-centric and whilst subjectivity is an inescapable characteristic of the human condition these significant objections are acknowledged. On the other hand, this work is intended to serve just as one possible interpretation of villas, and as a contribution to our understanding of Roman Britain, and not as a definitive explanation. It is also doubtful whether any analyses of the ancient world, even those that attempt to apply an historicist approach to periodicity, can ever get close to the reconstruction of what anyway were changing times, whilst on the bigger issues of lived experience there is a strong sense of 'psychic continuity' (Golden and Toohey 1997: 1-3).

Nevertheless this whole process must be conceded as empirically untestable 'middle-range' theory, a proposition considered generally true of all analysis of consumer behaviour (Fine and Leopold 1993: 43-4). Interrogating past material culture with postmodern insights represents an extreme ethnographic approach that is unproveable and lacks disciplinarity (Johnson 1999). On the other hand it substitutes one set of personal, social and cultural biases with another, encourages relativism whilst challenging positivism, represents a fresh perspective, and questions revered archaeological narratives. A characteristic of postmodern theory is the suggestion that society acts in a non-rational or even irrational way and consequently (in the context of this thesis) much of consumption is symbolic and emotionally-charged (Ritzer 1999: 72-4). It is therefore the purpose of this research to try to demonstrate that the decisions of those who built and adorned villas in Roman Britain were shaped by psychological and social as much as by utilitarian considerations.

It would be reasonable to argue that the earlier behaviour of acquisition and display by the Iron Age elite could itself be labelled consumption, as it indeed frequently is. Research affecting consumer behaviour today includes topics that are recognisable as relevant to prehistoric societies, including gift-giving (Ruth et al. 1999), embeddedness in markets (Frenzen and Davis 1990) and networks of kinship exchange (Fellerman and Debevec 1993). On the other hand, such consumption was arguably motivated more by social reasons that supported the group, or the community, rather than the person, or the private self, as was perhaps more the case with the villa lifestyle. It also seems likely that consumption after the conquest occurred on a larger scale, in different ways, and on a more widespread basis than before (*cf* Woolf 1998). In addition, classical literature creates the impression that people had become more socially aware and likely to judge themselves, and others, in respect of their consuming behaviour. Finally, an important psychological consideration that would appear to characterise a consumer society (albeit at the level of the elite) is also identifiable through the evolution and aggrandizement of country properties from the first century AD. This is the burgeoning drive for the experiences associated with innovation. As understood in today's terms the elite were acquiring a desire for novelty. They were becoming consumers.

Chapter Two. Examining villas more objectively

2.1. 'Romanization' as an explanation for villa aggrandizement

The enculturation model known as 'Romanization' is commonly used to explain the villa ideal, with the owners typically perceived as civilised, mannered, gentlemanly or cultured (see Haverfield 1915: 37; Collingwood 1924: 64; Collingwood and Myres 1937: 210). It is an argument that is often updated, for example by Salway (1993: 419), whose typical Cotswold villa owner would seek the 'congenial company of his neighbours in good sporting country', and one that endures (Ellis 2000: 191; Hingley and Miles 2002: 159). It is an intellectual framework possibly established unconsciously by the early 1900s. Hingley (2000) has shown how an imperial/colonial discourse both informed and was informed by Roman scholarship towards the end of the nineteenth century. Villas were identified as the homes of senior Roman military and administrative figures engaged in a civilising mission (ibid. 65-9; 90-1). For example, the adventure story *Beric the Briton* (Henty 1893) contrasts luxurious villa living with the huts of the Britons, Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) refers to respectable villa householders, and a *School History of England* (Fletcher and Kipling 1911: 19) highlights the 'country houses of rich Roman gentlemen'. Further cases are quoted by Hingley (2000: 68).

This mindset probably also reflects the influence of the classical authors, derived, for example, from the agricultural manuals written by Cato, Columella and Varro, the letters of Cicero and The Younger Pliny, and the work of others. This written resource is discussed in more detail below but a compilation of the material is offered by White (1978). Prepared for elite audiences, such literature tends to eulogize an upper-class rural existence and perhaps led to an unintended association being made by archaeologists with aristocratic lifestyles in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

For much of the last century these instincts may have been strengthened by further inadvertent identification by Romanists of the villa elite with a British ruling class during a period described as the 'Indian Summer' of the country house (Girouard 1978: 299). It was characterised by a mystique, romanticism and Wodehouse-style of existence typically captured in *Country Life* magazine (published from the 1890s). The status of these rural seats of power was coming under threat

from the *nouveaux riches* (Strong 1996; Mordaunt Crook 1999). It is not surprising therefore to find in a paper on aerial photography in *Journal of Roman Studies* (St. Joseph 1961) that villa sites are referred to as ‘country houses’ (ibid. 133), as indeed they still can be today (Neal and Cosh 2002: 85; Dyson 2003: 24).

2.2. *Other suggestions*

Villa amenities have also been viewed as desirable comforts (e.g. Richmond 1969: 145; Branigan 1991: 96; Alcock 1996: 68) or even dinner party ‘conversation pieces’ (Wacher 1978: 251), with re-decoration conceivably prompted by a wedding (Liversidge 1969: 151). Underpinning the debate has been a continuing argument amongst many that villa assets, and therefore the opportunity to invest in architectural pretension, arose from successful exploitation of resources. For example, Rivet (1969: 177) calls a villa a farm, Wightman (1985: 114) relates housing grandeur (in Gallia Belgica) to soil fertility, and Frere (1987: 258) links affluence to superior rural management. Without his meaning being explicit, Potter (1986: 109) suggests villas were lived in by ‘successful’ people. In a more recent case, Upex (2001: 89) proposes that prosperous villas close to *Durobrivae* combined farming with producing pottery and manufacturing metal goods intended for its ‘urban’ market. Other possible economic specialisations, including market gardening, fish farming, tile-making and providing hospitality for travellers are identified by Branigan (1989). Enjoying country pursuits from a ‘holiday cottage’ is seen as the rationale for owning Whitley Grange villa near Wroxeter (White and Barker 1998: 111).

Since the late 1970s the work of J.T. Smith (e.g. 1978; 1997) has focussed on interpreting villa plans as a possible guide to Romano-British social structure. He proposes that variations from the canons of classical architecture, including evidence for the duplication of certain facilities and recurrent patterns of room configuration, are pointers to joint proprietorship, itself an outcome of continuing native practices of shared inheritance. Only with time were such expressions of duality eroded, their basis in kin-group relations overtaken by the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of fewer individuals who might then rebuild, and lavishly embellish their villas (Smith 1997: 300). His approach has been criticised as too simplistic. Reviews challenge Smith for concentrating largely on floor plans whilst ignoring other aspects of interior decoration (Branigan 1999: 415); for disregarding the possible influence of relationships with other villas in an area (Scott 1999: 249); for focussing only on

buildings and not the broader geographical context (Hingley 1999: 419); and for over-reliance on layout and insufficient attention to literary sources, portable artefacts and wider cultural and social considerations (Rossiter 2000: 577). In addition, Clarke (1998: 32) doubts whether the typical Iron Age extended family household differed much from the equally broad Roman concept of *familia* and suggests that this therefore invalidates Smith's sociological thesis.

2.3. *Consumption arguments*

Only recently has consumption behaviour been acknowledged as having relevance to villa development. This may reflect the long-standing negative overtones of the verb 'to consume' (see Williams 1988: 78-9), for example to 'use up', 'waste', 'destroy' etc., and its association with a throwaway culture. It may also owe to a long-standing prejudice among intellectuals that identifies consumers as driven by such undesirable motives as acquisitiveness, vanity or covetousness (Campbell 1994b: 503-4). Campbell notes a British tendency to disparage consumption in favour of production and he suggests that further reasons for this are our 'Puritan inheritance' and disposition towards self-denial. Self-indulgent consumption was discussed in deprecating terms within sociology until the mid-1980s and seen as a factor contributing to poverty, divisions in society and the declining standards of popular culture, with marketers viewed as manipulative (Gronow and Warde 2001: 1-2).

Post-war archaeologists may have been influenced by high-profile studies of consumption that denigrated society excesses (e.g. Galbraith 1962; Packard 1965; Nader 1973; Schumacher 1973). An example might be de la Bédoyère (1999: 90), who comments on Bignor villa in Sussex that 'the rich tend to occupy accommodation in inverse proportion to personal requirements'. There may be an academic bias against aspects of materialism (Lebergott 1993: 5).

The broad issue of affluence (or wealth, prosperity, ability to pay etc.) is raised frequently (e.g. Richmond 1963: 110; Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 133, 146; Percival 1976: 95; Frere 1987: 298; de la Bédoyère 1993: 80; Salway 1993: 411) and is used to explain different house standards (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1991: 121; Potter and Johns 1992: 88). Further examples include the writings of Laing (1997: 105), who suggests it was the 'income bracket' of the villa owners which dictated how many painted rooms there were, and Allason-Jones (1989: 70) who proposes that

Bignor villa in Sussex grew in size and embellishment because the family 'was more successful and .. their financial situation improved'.

Such thinking is simplistic and appears to derive from the marginal utility model of demand (e.g. Parkin 2000; Himmelweit et al. 2001). An early-nineteenth century approach to micro-economics, this was underpinned by a number of reductionist and unrealistic assumptions about purchasing decisions. These include an emphasis simply on what things cost, the idea that a consumer could be stereotypical, and that he or she would act in a totally rational way seeking only to maximise the satisfaction, or utility, which reflects those preferences that they have independently acquired (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 37). A critique of utility theory is offered by Douglas and Isherwood (1979: 15-24). Campbell (1987: 40-1) challenges the model for not explaining how personal wants or desires arise in the first place, nor why these should differ between people and can change over time, nor why it should be presumed that consumers act logically and with 'satisfaction' as their goal. Archaeologists have not tried to explain why people actually seek to accumulate wealth. A psychoanalytic approach to this today recognises motives that are 'irrational and unconscious' (Bloom 1991: 427), alongside those factors centred in social relations. Such subjective reasons to accumulate property include 'self-preservation, love of aggression, the need for love and respect, the wish for pleasure, diversion or security, and the need to combat boredom' (ibid. 441). The debate can be taken back a step further if an apparent correlation between a desire for relative position, or status, and high concentrations in individuals of the neurotransmitter serotonin and the hormone testosterone, is seen as credible evidence (Frank 1999: 140-1). Studies of non-human primates suggest it is possible that elevated levels of these biochemical markers can influence behaviour and may 'help achieve or maintain status' (ibid. 142).

2.4. Conspicuous consumption

Media references from the early-1980s to flashy extravagance in society (the 'Yuppies'; Donald Trump, etc.) provide a background to the popularity since then of the conspicuous consumption model (Veblen 1925) as a different orthodoxy for understanding villa construction and elaboration. Its application has not been confined to Roman Britain, and for example it is used to explain pre-conquest imports

of prestige goods (Haselgrove 1984: 45), and feasting practices in the Saxon period (Loveluck 2001).

The paradigm proposes that villas represent ostentatious display rather than profitable husbandry. The hypothesis, which is discussed below, is now commonly used to explain the strategies of the native elite to retain prestige and power after the conquest through the adoption of Roman architecture, amenities and art, and in later centuries to demonstrate a social distance from an imitative class of newer villa owners (e.g. Millett 1990; Perring 2002). Elsewhere, the phrase is used specifically or euphemistically by Hingley (1989), Jones and Mattingly (1990), Millett (1992), de la Bédoyère (1993, 1999), Potter and Johns (1992), Dark and Dark (1997), Scott (1997, 2000), Smith (1997), Dark (2000) and Ellis (2000). Characteristic language proposes that villas were ‘designed to impress’ (Potter 1997: 32), ‘overawe visitors and social inferiors’ (Millett 1995: 101), and to ‘keep up with, or surpass the *Julii* next door’ (Wacher 2000: 51). ‘The one-mosaic house ... was better than the house with none’ suggests Henig (1995: 64), whilst a villa that the ‘upwardly mobile businessman’ might use to arouse admiration in his neighbours is the explanation offered by Dark and Dark (1997: 1). However, others question whether wealth and prestige necessarily were displayed through the medium of villas, for example, Reece (1988: 74-5) who imagines some could dislike the ‘fashionable monstrosity ... of get-rich-quick cowboys’. Also, some villas may have belonged to estates with multiple holdings and the owners’ wealth may have been more fully displayed at another site, or perhaps earned elsewhere (Perring et al. 2002: 21).

2.5. *Disregarding consumption*

A possible disregard for consumer theories is reflected similarly in local/regional and specialist studies. The topic of consumption is not raised in the villa sections of the four *Peoples of Roman Britain* volumes that cover the tribal territories in this study area (Branigan 1985; Hartley and Fitts 1988; Ramm 1978; Todd 1991) with passing references instead only to explanations for aggrandizement such as wealth, Romanization and emerging sophistication, etc. Similarly, considerations like prosperity, Roman values, luxury and status are highlighted, but not theorised as consumer behaviour in recent villa reports and syntheses both in this study area and discussed below (e.g. Bancroft, Beadlam, Dalton Parlours, Empingham), or in other

parts of Britain (e.g. Allen et al. 1993; Barford 2002; Ellis 1999; Henig and Booth 2000; Hostetter and Howe 1997; Philp 1996; Philp et al. 1999; Rudling 1998). An exception is the report for Great Witcombe villa in Gloucestershire (Leach 1998) which draws attention to a wide range of possible indicators of status including the provision of two bath-suites, water management, a shrine, house siting intended to capitalise on the view, the high standard of construction fabrics, an impressive frontage, fine ceramics and glassware, but these points are not then discussed. A recent study of retailing in Roman Britain focuses on the motives of shopkeepers, not customers (MacMahon 2000), whilst a new corpus on mosaics (Neal and Cosh 2002) concentrates largely on aspects of their production and aesthetics with little discussion of the possible consumer attitudes of the villa owners.

2.6. Examples elsewhere

It is not essential to the development of this thesis to discuss the complexities of the evolution of those elite country properties in Republican Italy that became known as villas, or to consider their later diffusion elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

Excavations at the Auditorium site outside Rome now point to the origins of the ideal around the sixth and fifth centuries BC (Terrenato 2001). Terrenato's study includes a review of previous evidence and an analysis of architectural, social and economic issues, and he proposes that a small number of long-established ancestral villas served as a model for a 'new trend (of villas) raging through the landscapes of Italy' by the first century BC (ibid. 29). This pattern echoes the initial stages that are recognised in the fashion process (Sproles 1985: 66), namely invention, fashion leadership, increasing social visibility, etc., a topic that is discussed below in relation to the spread of mosaics. 'Small World' theory may also have relevance (p70).

Sources for other villas in Italy include Carandini (1984) for the thoroughly excavated and reported site at Settefinestre and Fentress (2003) for a review of a group of recently excavated villas (which she calls 'Stately Homes'). For studies that cover a number of Roman provinces see Smith (1997) for architectural considerations, and Ellis (2000) for more descriptive work. Examples of research that focuses on cross-cultural issues include Haselgrove (1995) for a case-study in Gaul and Roymans (1995) for work in Roman Germany. Only rarely is the topic of consumption raised (e.g. Dyson 1985 for the villas around Buccino in Italy) but is

discussed in terms of the distribution of material culture, rather than the specifics of consumer behaviour.

Elsewhere in the Roman world a number of housing studies adopt similarly generalised approaches. Zanker (1998: 18) explains that in late Republican Italy it became essential for the aristocracy to own an opulent villa to symbolise the ideal of *tryphe*, their interpretation of an Hellenistically-inspired hedonism. Wallace-Hadrill (1988) illustrates the close link between the display and spacing of *luxuria* in Roman houses, particularly decorative finishes, and the management of public image. In a study of Pompeii and Herculaneum (1994) he identifies 'prosperous plebeians' copying the luxury decoration adopted by the elite, the imitative goal being to infer their participation in higher Roman culture. The result was a 'banalization' of styles (ibid. 173). In Gaul, Woolf (1998: 157) suggests that distinctive regional identities in villa building owed to the motive of competition between the local Gallo-Roman elite seeking to outdo each other and that this mattered more than strict adherence to Roman architectural styles. Peter Temin (pers.comm.) comments that 'of course the rich people in Rome were consumers, and rather Veblenesque ones at that. Their demand surely drove the expansion of the market economy.'

2.7. Challenging the conspicuous consumption model

In examining the relevance of the conspicuous consumption construct three considerations arise: what is the archaeological context in which the concept is being used; what was Veblen's argument and how is it now viewed; and does the model fit with the evidence from villas?

First, why has this theory been applied theoretically to the circumstances of Roman Britain? Millett (1990) offers a widely-accepted interpretation. Owning land demonstrated wealth and conferred both power and social honour in the Roman world. From the first century the native elite chose to live in villas as a strategy to preserve their influence by associating themselves with Rome at a time when traditional status criteria (control of arms, command of prestige resources, a hitherto rigid social hierarchy) were no longer guaranteed. A contrasting interpretation is offered by Hales (2003: 181-2), who sees the adoption of Roman ways by the Catuvellaunian elite as a stratagem of defiance towards the conquerors, with the

acquisition of cultural symbols intended to confer their authority as an alternative to Rome.

Such 'Romanization' trickled down the class ladder, gradually causing villas to spread. By the fourth century, as town life declined in relative importance, and tax collection switched to rural areas, villas became more commonly the focus of personal display, their diffusion fuelled by imitative conspicuous consumption. Against a trend of falling average size (Gregson 1982: 166), a small proportion retained social distance through their grandiose scale and pretension. To this scenario can be added the reinforcing arguments that status-enhancing cultural capital, or *paideia*, could be acquired by the wealthy through classical scholarship that was reflected in their choice of mosaics and art (Brown 1992; Scott 1997, 2000; Henig 2002: chapter 4), and, for a few, through the medium of mosaics which conveyed hidden Gnostic truths to believers (Perring 2002: 133-9). Perring legitimates his use of the premise of conspicuous consumption (spending on '*luxuria* to reinforce social position': *ibid.* 214-5) through references to Petronius and other Roman literary sources. Derived from work to estimate the cost of villas, Faulkner (2000: 71-2) identifies two main periods of housing 'boom' or conspicuous spending, namely much of the second century, peaking AD150-175, together with a late-third century 'golden age', which also saw an increased percentage of large villas (*ibid.* 135).

A Rome-centric architectural narrative within which to discuss the conspicuous consumption argument is offered by Perring (2002). He proposes that the conquerors introduced the idea that Romano-Hellenistic building styles could symbolise power, and later, prosperity. Their construction methods were adopted gradually from the Flavian period with notable developments including a cluster of (externally-influenced?) so-called 'palatial' villas near the south coast and also the emergence of a modest row-type style of villa, often found near former Iron Age locales of social authority. Early ostentation, for status, might include a corridor, bath, wall-plaster and dining room. Construction in stone, whether just the foundations or the full structure, was a further slowly diffusing expression of improvement, which Perring (*ibid.* 37) sees as a fashion change, inspired initially by Fishbourne Palace in Sussex and buildings in London, and which often became a substitute for earth and timber walls. The conclusion he draws is that status spending on domestic housing in the countryside generally both preceded and exceeded that in towns (*ibid.* 35). Evolving social routines accelerated the introduction of reception

facilities in villas from the mid-second century, including the addition of corridors and wings. Late-third and fourth century changes saw the building of smaller properties, perhaps reflecting the reduced cachet of villas, but arguably compensated for in some properties by superior internal decor (ibid. 42). Whether this acculturative adoption of 'Roman' architecture owed to spontaneous native imitation or official encouragement is currently in debate, and is discussed below. To explain why housing in Britain was not merely imitative of that in other parts of the Roman world, Perring emphasises (after Woolf 1998) the complexity and heterogeneity of Roman culture (ibid. 214) and the different 'strategic choices' (ibid. 218) that the elite could make within a shared ideological outlook. The possibility that variations could reflect innate differences between individuals is not raised.

2.7.1. The 'conspicuous consumption' thesis

Although archaeologists have attributed the conspicuous consumption thesis to Thorstein Veblen (*The Theory of the Leisure Class* [1899] 1925), the concept was in fact expressed much earlier. For example, Bernard Mandeville (1714) identifies the competitive phenomenon amongst upwardly-striving Dutch merchants; Adam Smith (1776) notes how some sought to possess scarce and opulent objects which others could not; whilst John Rae (1834) first coined the phrase, understanding it (ibid. 265-7) as an outcome of 'vanity', defined as the desire for 'superiority', or to 'have what others can't have'. Veblen knew of Rae's work but failed to make reference to him (Edgell and Tilman 1991: 743). Veblen argues that there is an instinctive competitive drive towards 'pecuniary emulation' (1925: chapter 2). The accumulation of property becomes the 'independent and definitive basis of esteem' (ibid. 29), the 'possession of wealth confers honour' (ibid. 26), and those above seek to outspend those below, who are driven by envy. Veblen proposes, too, that the approval and respect of others requires a leisured existence (ibid. 42), correct behaviour (ibid. 47), the control of staff (ibid. 52), ostentatious consumption by the lady of the house (ibid. 60), costly food and drink (ibid. 70), cultured tastes (ibid. 74), and manifestly wasteful expenditure (ibid. 96). Veblen stresses that all classes and communities, subject to their resources, seek this 'higher' satisfaction of status display (ibid. 85), with the outcome definable as either relative or absolute conspicuous consumption.

2.7.2. Criticising Veblen

Widespread criticism of Veblen in studies of consumption (for a review of the debate, see Mason 1998) undermines the unquestioning application of his theories to Roman Britain. The author is considered prejudiced (Clark 1986: 3). He is challenged for 'an uncritical use of bourgeois values' (Elias 1983: 67). Campbell (1987: 49-57) doubts whether consumption always has to be 'other-directed', suggests that status-striving need not be everyone's ideal way of life, and notes that issues of taste or style could matter to consumers as much as price. An unexplained presumption made by Veblen is that social groups concur over status criteria and he does not discuss how products acquire the status symbolism that they do. Campbell concludes that Veblen's model of consumption is a 'psychological reductionism' that is more likely to be relevant to the '*nouveaux riches*' who are seeking to confirm their social standing and therefore might be influenced more by taste-makers than traditional elite values. Campbell (1995a) further critiques Veblen's work as being vague, untestable, uncertain about motives, unclear as to how the reaction of intended audiences of ostentatious display would be judged, and improbable for making no allowance for the possible influence of other personal merits like intelligence or courage.

The model has been re-interpreted by Mason (*Conspicuous Consumption* 1981), taking into account contemporary insights from social psychology. He criticises Veblen's work for its atypical and historically-specific bias (i.e. the late-nineteenth century 'Gilded Age' in America). He suggests, instead, that the phenomenon of conspicuous display has to be contextualised in the light of three interacting considerations: prevailing cultural values, the structure of social relationships and also the effect of personality variables on an individual's propensity to consume ostentatiously. Not every society will condone overt consumption, and some may not recognise wealth as a medium for upward mobility, for example, because family origins counted more. Mason suggests that conspicuous consumption is more likely to be influenced by peer (or 'social membership' or 'reference') groups when such an inherited basis of class weakens (ibid. 137). Peer-group circumstances may foster 'horizontal' (within group) status consumption whilst 'vertical' (between group) consumption will occur where upward advancement in society is both possible and desirable and the flaunting of possessions is the accepted means. Mason also argues that people will tend to consume conspicuously in those

societies where stratification by status is strong, and where economic ability is an accepted basis of such individual differentiation.

To serve as an analytical framework Mason (after Riesman 1950) identifies 'traditional', 'achieving' and 'affluent' societies, each shaping a 'social character' (ibid. 36). A 'tradition-directed' society is characterised by a rigid social hierarchy with conspicuous display practised by a small elite aiming either to signal power (e.g. their ability to hoard or destroy resources), or to spend for the common good (e.g. ceremonial feasting). 'Inner-directed' achieving societies provide more scope for ostentatious expenditure intended to underpin individual status, whilst in 'other-directed' affluent societies consumption is shaped by opinion leaders. Mason suggests the Roman world can be seen as an 'advanced' traditional society (ibid. 57) in which the wealthy elite could consume to secure horizontal or vertical status advantages.

Central also to criticisms of conspicuous consumption as a model for explaining consumer behaviour is that such conduct is 'exceptional' and by definition appears 'conspicuous' (Mason 1981: 43). Instead, consumer research today views status-seeking actions as 'atypical and peripheral' (Mason 1992: 88). Determining factors (wealth aside) to explain such an unequal desire to status-seek can be the innate (often sub-conscious) cues arising from an individual's randomly allotted or acquired inner values and personality traits (ibid. 89). Whilst the construction of personality is in part shaped by prevailing societal conditioning, the degree of importance attached to personal goals like status and social honour will vary according to such psychoanalytical variables (Mason 1981: 27). These include traits as varied as sociability, conformism, exhibitionism, a desire to dominate or a preference for privacy.

2.7.3. *Modernising Veblen*

Veblen's arguments have been modernised and these refinements also provide insights from which this research will draw. Leibenstein (1950) recognises a more nuanced interpretation of the influence that a social audience can exert on demand. He proposes a 'Veblen' effect which relies on a conspicuously high price to make a commodity 'desirable'; the 'snob' effect which reflects a desire to own things which are scarce and therefore exclusive; and the 'bandwagon' effect, wherein demand is driven through the imitation of others. Duesenberry (1962) identifies a

‘demonstration effect’ (ibid. 27-8), in which consumption is driven by the need to support personal self-esteem and maintain or improve a standard of living, but this is still viewed as a derivative of conspicuous consumption (McCormick 1983). A distinction between consumption for rational or functional reasons and more symbolic motives such as prestige is drawn by Woods (1960: 17). Status-seeking consumption takes place in the context of the ‘positional economy’ (Hirsch 1976: 27) in which owning scarce goods secures social advantage. The four psychological drives which shape conspicuous consumption conduct are recognised as ‘achievement motivation, role playing, dissonance reduction, and social character formation’ (Mason 1988: 161).

2.7.4. *When Veblen doesn’t work*

In conclusion, when archaeologists introduce conspicuous consumption arguments to explain the villa phenomenon they make assumptions about motives and overlook more complex dimensions of consumer behaviour. This might not matter if the villa evidence supported the Veblen model. It will be argued that in this study area it may not. It will be shown that whilst the broad classification of villa types is not in doubt (and also applies elsewhere in the province), beyond that an infinite variability is manifest in respect both of decorative detail and the patterning and range of amenities. Whilst considerable allowance must be made for incomplete or non-comparable data, the reality is that every villa was different. Adhering to a conspicuous consumption model, which in itself is an implicit acceptance by Romanists of consumer behaviour, ought in theory to create a recognisable pattern of status-defining conduct. If this is not the case there is a need to account for why conspicuous consumption does not work.

This can be illustrated taking mosaics as an example. According to their quality these are usually interpreted as expressions of status. Yet the following are just a handful of the peculiarities that emerge from the evidence presented in the new corpus covering this region (Neal and Cosh 2002); the evidence is discussed in greater detail below. For example, why did the ‘wealthy’ owner at Rudston appear to lack discernment in respect of the Venus mosaic (ibid. 11)? Why should ‘relatively humble structures’ in Northamptonshire (ibid. 226) have mosaics at all? Why were the figurative mosaics (traditionally seen as conveying the greatest prestige) at Croughton, Thenford and Whittlebury all crudely finished (ibid 235, 262, 264)? Why

would there be only two fine mosaics at Norfolk Street, Leicester, but nine ordinary ones, despite the enormous overall investment represented by the villa complex (ibid. 11)? Why was the high-quality pavement at Drayton II patched coarsely and with no effort to match the original (ibid. 78), and why was this such a common phenomenon? Why have a mosaic at all, as at Carsington (ibid. 280) or Gargrave (ibid. 335), if there were no other villa-owners of equal standing living nearby to impress, although a reason might be to influence lowlier tenants. Why do mosaics at a number of sites, such as Great Casterton (ibid. 82), Harpole (ibid. 245) and Southwell (ibid. 278) incorporate aspects of styling which are considered unusual, if not virtually unique? Why use a mosaicist possibly based 150 km away as was the case at Well (ibid. 364), and Scampton (ibid. 192)?

It is all too easy to offer logical but introspective explanations for such inconsistencies which apply in different though equally unexpected ways both to the patterning of villa amenities and the nature of the buildings themselves. It is suggested below that consumer behaviour approaches present a more nuanced and coherent set of explanations.

2.8. *'Costing' consumption on Roman villas. Towards a quantifiable 'model'*

An intentionally modern point of entry for this thesis is to outline a way to assess and compare the 'costs' that were represented by villas. It is an experimental approach. The aim is to enable us to identify consumption taking place, in today's terms at least, and to try to quantify this. The proposal that follows, intended only for illustrative purposes, facilitates a more systematic analysis of villa data than can be obtained through assessment made subjectively by looking at plans, whether in the field or in reports. It also helps to overcome difficulties of interpretation that arise from the inevitably inclusive and patchy nature of much of the evidence and the almost total failure of literary sources to offer insights into attitudes to housing in Roman Britain. The suggested model embraces a set of possible figures for construction that were proposed by a professional in this field.

The idea is offered subject to some self-critical assessment and, for example, it could have concentrated just on one period or on one region in order to reduce the number of untestable assumptions. This is not, however, a thesis that relies on

‘costing’ to make a central point. The case-studies that follow are not intended to be exhaustive but have been selected as vignettes in order to illustrate the possible consumption decisions of villa owners in a range of situations that they will have experienced.

2.8.1. Earlier classifications

Earlier, subjective classification of such investment has been offered by Rivet (1969: 211-4) based arbitrarily on inferences for the fourth century of villa scale and splendour. His luxurious A-type villas were considered of continental ranking; B-types were less grand, but with bath-houses and mosaics; and C-types he simply dismissed (though comparing figs 5.6 and 5.7 suggests there were quite a few in the East of England). Rivet acknowledged that wealth need not necessarily lead to grandeur, because small villas could point to absentee landlords, but he does presume that the rich would live in grand properties (ibid. 214). Based on apparently random criteria some 18 out of 94 his A-type villas are sited in this research area. Taking into account the published material available at that time it seems likely that Rivet’s judgements (ibid. 265-79) for about half of these were made purely on the basis of the quality of the mosaics, as at Dalton Parlours or Horkstow, or from the presence of a bath-suite, as at Hovingham or Rothley in Leicestershire. In contrast, a more scientific approach (Faulkner 1998, 2000) has attempted to estimate villa building costs using the expertise of Jack Newman, a quantity surveyor and amateur archaeologist. In that work a random sample of 78 sites selected from all tribal territories was used.

This study seeks to explore the further potential of this ‘costing’ formula by using it to consider questions of consumer behaviour. It should be noted that a previous effort to do this in an ethnographic context failed because there was too much cost variation between regions and insufficient data on construction time and the quantity of materials (Richard Blanton 1994: 7; and pers.comm.). Another exercise that examines housing in a Roman context (DeLaine 1996) sought to assess construction resources and processes in Ostia, and benefited from the state of survival of the architecture of the town. A further example looks in detail at the possible costs involved in building the large-scale baths of Caracalla (DeLaine 1997), again assisted by the preservation of the structure. The idea of using a quantity surveying model

that works backwards from the evidence of buildings that still stand in Ostia has led to computed figure for the number of mandays/m² (DeLaine 2000: 127).

2.8.2. *Acknowledged weaknesses*

Faulkner-Newman accept the gross simplifications involved in the work, but argue that a 'quantitative analysis' is preferable to 'discussion .. dominated by anecdote and impression' (Faulkner 1998: 25). Acknowledged weaknesses include chronological, stratigraphical and reporting inaccuracies and inconsistencies; presumptions about 'costs'; the possibility of variable building techniques; the exclusion of upper storeys for want of evidence; making assumptions about the quality of interior finishes and architectural details; and not knowing whether walls were all stone, or part-masonry, part-timber. Their approach is to transmute estimated prices into 'construction unit values' (by dividing the costings by 10). This was intended to create less sense of unrealistic accuracy and also to recognise the possibility/likelihood that surplus labour, perhaps from tenants or slaves, was a major resource. Certainly it would have been common practice to run an estate with the use of slave labour (Rosafio 1994; Samson 1999). On the other hand, the use and display of slaves is itself consumption because such workers need to be supplied, fed, accommodated, managed and instructed and would be costly to keep unless fully occupied. They also represented a visible source of status for villa owners (Purcell 1995: 170). Consequently note should be taken of a possible model for the supply of labour for building projects throughout the Empire, although most of the evidence relates to Rome, which suggests that unskilled workmen could be hired to supplement the use of slaves (Anderson 1997: 124). Paid temporary workers are attested in rural areas in Roman Italy (Dyson 1992: 134-5).

Faulkner's justification for this anachronistic approach, the archaeological problems aside, is that it is plausible that relative costings both then and now are proportionate, and that many of the uncertainties should cancel each other out through the law of averages. Importantly, the costings do make building comparisons possible, in time and space, and for instance he recognises several peaks of villa development defined by house value, size and the number of rooms occupied (Faulkner 2000: 71-2, 138). Newman's modern estimates for construction costs (prepared for Faulkner and additionally for this research) have all been based for the purposes of consistency on 1994 prices. His 'headline' figures have been applied in

this study, rather than unit values, to help focus attention on the issue of expense and therefore the serious decisions this may have required. It is quite likely that a villa, as in the case of a contemporary house, was the largest acquisition that a person or family could make.

Newman's method is to use an 'average' per sq.m. cost of £285, an amount derived from estimates for building a medium-sized bungalow, after omitting those elements such as fittings and services which would not apply in the case of a villa. 'Extra over' costs of £135 per sq.m. are then taken for a geometric mosaic floor (less for a tessellated pavement; more for higher-quality work), plus an additional £50 per sq.m. for hypocausts. Four arbitrary classes of villa by value are named 'palatial' (above £300,000), 'large' (above £175,000), 'substantial' (above £100,000), and 'small' (under £100,000), and it is intended to apply these categories below to assist comparison. The use of such a classification helps to minimise any risk of false perceptions and misleading comparisons that can arise when using the definition 'villa' for buildings that contrast significantly in scale and style. These figures exclude any land costs, and even without allowing for considerable price inflation in recent years, they illustrate strikingly the quantity of resources being used. Expenditure on this scale arguably was not needs-driven, but instead discretionary, self-indulgent, irrational, and psychologically-motivated. But can this be demonstrated?

2.8.3. *Quantifying status?*

The further advantage of having benchmarked and therefore comparable costings for villas is to explore the issue of status. Often this has been presumed subjectively by archaeologists merely because of the presence of amenities (e.g. Rivet 1969: 211), and without any objective definition of what constitutes the 'typical' suite or value of such villa 'improvements'. By using the expertise of a quantity surveyor, however, it becomes possible theoretically to achieve house-by-house, period-by-period comparison of that proportion of the overall 'construction value' of a property that can be accounted for by each amenity and by all such amenities. Since the underlying 'cost' presumptions will be the same for each building (in reality techniques may have changed over time and by area), the varying percentages attributable to such non-essential embellishments should provide a status-through-consumption index for that villa, and for comparison with other villas, and examples follow. Possible

support for this approach may be found in economic analysis of status-generating behaviour (Congleton 1989). What matters to an individual is the consumption of socially prestigious goods that is relative to his or her wealth, rather than the scale of such expenditure measured in absolute terms (ibid. 179). There is also evidence that wealthier people spend more proportionately in pursuit of status (ibid. 180). At the request of, and in conjunction with the author, Newman has prepared a range of 'costings' specifically for this thesis which serve as the basis for case-studies intended to demonstrate how a more nuanced assessment of villa investment may be possible. Further examples appear elsewhere in this work.

As a professional quantity surveyor, albeit retired, it was the wish of Jack Newman that the exact detail of his workings was not made public. His figures have been shown to the supervisors for this thesis and a selection, in each case a summary of his thorough approach, are identified in Appendix 4. The villas that were chosen were drawn from those with comprehensive site reports and with the intention of representing each *civitas* area and a cross-section of villa types. The professional guide *Cost Planning of Buildings* (Ferry and Brandon 1991) was consulted by the author to provide a sharper focus for the brief. Two further 'costing' exercises that did not involve Newman (for gardens and a vineyard, respectively) are included and are placed in context below.

An important caveat (Martin Millett pers.comm.) is that all such counting/measuring approaches (including Faulkner; and De Laine, above) are themselves value-laden, partly in respect of attributing respective costs, but especially for taking no account of changing social values over time and by context. It is unlikely, for example, that a first century hypocaust (e.g. Mileoak) or second century mosaic (e.g. Piddington) would have been perceived in the same way by the owner, or onlookers, as would similar facilities first introduced in the fourth century (e.g. Beadlam). Whilst this argument serves to caution against sweeping generalisations that arise through quantity surveying, more importantly it confirms the requirement, proposed above, to examine each villa as an independent focus for consumption and to try to interpret social and personal values from this consumer evidence.

2.9. *'Costing' case-studies*

2.9.1. *Empingham: 'Small villa – aspirational owners'*

At Empingham (Cooper 2000) the issue is raised below (p124-5) as to why cinnabar, a prestige pigment, was present in the simple farmstead SITE 1, with Egyptian blue, another relatively uncommon pigment found in SITE 2 which is considered a villa (fig.1). Although the wall-plaster report suggests that the cinnabar may have arrived in hard core (Morgan 2000: 128) and been deposited within a non-residential building, both the main report and its author Nick Cooper (pers.comm.) disagree. A part-domestic use for SITE 1 is proposed (Cooper 2000: 16) and any suggestion of infill is denied. Even if allowances are made for the incomplete plans both of SITE 1 and SITE 2, which had a hypocaust, the buildings comfortably fit into Newman's 'small villa' category at a 'cost' of well under £100,000.

The use of these pigments may therefore be evidence of self-symbolizing behaviour (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982), which argues that imagined inadequacies in people will create in them a drive to compensate, for example through the acquisition of symbolic material goods. The motivation is to complete the self, rather than a specific requirement for the object concerned. In the case of Empingham the use of the iconic pigments perhaps served to complete self-definition. The social shortcomings felt by the owners of the small and unimposing buildings could be offset using these accepted cultural symbols, perhaps at the time the only medium for self-symbolising available to them. The possibility arises that they had international contacts.

2.9.2. *Cotterstock: 'Costing using non-invasive techniques'*

The costing formula can also be applied to surface archaeology, in this instance the composite results of aerial photography, geophysics and field-walking summarised for Cotterstock villa (Upex 2001). It is an exceptional building with two large and two small courtyards, and covers an area of approximately 250m x 70m. Based (fig.2) on an interpretive plan (ibid. 83) and an unpublished reconstruction (Stephen Upex pers.comm.), Newman estimates that total building 'costs' could have reached £2.2m. This assumes only two mosaics, although antiquarian reports suggest there were more (Neal and Cosh 2002: 232), and three hypocausts (a guess), and allows for upper storeys proposed by Upex because of the apparent width of foundations. Site chronology is a problem because the villa will probably have been multi-phased. No

extra allowance has been made for the cost of labour involved in terracing into a slope, by perhaps 3m in depth in one area, with the resulting platform considered part of the architectural design, intended to accentuate the building's sense of importance.

The magnitude of cost is not the real issue, but how this can be understood in terms of status. Stephen Upex (pers.comm.) says Cotterstock could be seen clearly from both the industrial settlement of Ashton and the *Durobrivae*/Ircchester road and suggests that in this region only the so-called *praetorium* at Castor (Mackreth 1984) was sited and planned to be equally impressive from afar. Here then is wealth being linked to landscape values in order to emphasise prestige.

A future opportunity arises to compare the 'cost' of Cotterstock with estimates based on other surface-only studies, for example, of buildings of comparable size in the Somme Valley (Agache 1978). In addition, those villas classified as local to *Durobrivae* (Upex 2001:88-9) could perhaps be ranked using the idea of the status-through-consumption index, and conclusions drawn about the social landscape of this group of sites. Cotterstock can now also be benchmarked against other buildings of equivalent size and comparable cost throughout the province, such as Bignor villa in Sussex: (Frere 1982). This might perhaps lead to a fifth ('Inter-Provincial?') category to extend Faulkner-Newman's existing cost-based classification.

2.9.3. *Drayton II: 'Changing status through time'*

Building estimates for Drayton II, a mid-second to mid-fourth century aisled masonry villa provide two consumption insights (Appendix 4). The first is that a relatively small building could nevertheless receive considerable investment in desirable improvements; the second is that where surviving evidence of distinct phasing permits, it may be possible to track changing attitudes towards status over time. The well-preserved site reveals an apparently stand-alone villa (the basic structure was approximately 27m x 14m), yet comprising a possibly colonnaded central hall with a further 19 rooms, eight or more of which at various times were hypocausted, and six tessellated (three with mosaics) plus at different times one external bath-house and two internal bath-suites (Connor 1993; Whatley 1998).

The villa was built over evidence of earlier occupation and such ancestral continuity was perhaps a matter of prestige. New 'Roman' criteria for status may well have been its visually impressive siting above the Leicester to Colchester road (Cooper et al. 1989:14), as well as the accent on embellishment. Whatley (1998)

identifies three phases, categorised by varying degrees of refinement. More rooms in total were hypocausted than was the case at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Black 1985). One explanation could be that the earliest generations of this villa household were characterised by the consumer trait of receptiveness to innovation, which will be discussed. This might suggest that this was a family of what are today called 'neophiliacs' (Campbell 1992: 55), recognised as having a preference for new products, or specifically those featuring new technology. In contrast is the view that the habit of using hypocausts over a long period of time is actually expressive of conservatism and conformity. This may be disregarded because hypocausts would have proved both a fascination and an investment to succeeding generations. A further alternative is that for these villa owners having heated rooms arguably stood for status, not just comfort, particularly in view of the continuing labour and maintenance costs involved, as well as the daily need for fuel and the privilege inferred from being able to obtain it. For some households did the ability to provide warmth matter more than the size of the property, and if so is this a clue to their origins from a warmer country? A more prosaic explanation may have been the use of this building so close to the road to host passing travellers, in which case central heating on this scale could still have been a source of prestige. Chapter 5 examines the suggestion that roads contributed to consumption behaviour.

A status-through-consumption index tracked over the three recognisable villa phases (fig.3) at Drayton II may offer further insights. In its earliest stage (mid- to late-second century) the overall 'cost' was £125,000, some 13% of which represented investment in improvements; the equivalent figures for the late-second to mid-third century phase were £121,000 and 8%; whilst those for phase 3 (mid-third to mid-fourth) were £183,000 and 19%. Quantified, the 'costs' of amenities in each phase were around £17,000; £10,000; and £36,000 respectively. This pattern broadly confirms the picture of construction peaks and troughs for villas noted by Faulkner (2000: 71). It also corresponds broadly with the cyclical economic rhythms proposed by Going (1992), namely the mid/late-second and mid/late-third century 'log' phases of growth contrasting with the 'lag' period of relative decline during the first half of the third century.

2.9.4. Dalton Parlours and Winterton: 'Aisled versus winged corridor villas on each site - which building had higher status?'

Two contrasting but contemporary buildings characterise Dalton Parlours villa (fig.4) during the early-fourth century (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990). Structure J is a winged-corridor house in which the east end is hypocausted, with the west, which is apsidal, finished with mosaics including the prestigious Medusa panel (ibid. 150). It is labelled the 'principal dwelling' (ibid. 279). Structure M is aisled, incorporates a succession of residential improvements on its south side (hypocaust, bath-suite, wall-plaster, a polychrome mosaic and probably other tessellated pavements), and is considered part-domestic, part-agricultural. The notion that building M was inferior in status to J is challenged by Newman's estimates. The aisled structure, the largest building on the site, 'cost' £144,000 compared to £128,000 for the winged corridor house, its improvements representing 18% of this total, compared to 12% for the latter.

This argument is demonstrated even more obviously at Winterton (fig.4) using costings for aisled buildings D and B and winged corridor villa G. Phase 2 estimates (mid-fourth century) have been used for B and D, but an earlier phase (mid-third century) for G because no floors survive for the later period. In defence of this compromise the external dimensions of the three buildings changed little between phases (D and G were both Antonine, B a little later), all three had some 'improvements' from the outset whilst the four early mosaics in G (Neal and Cosh 2002: 207-8) to some extent compensate for four later ones in D. Building G is described by Stead (1976: 94) as the 'master's house', D as that 'of the farm workers ... and foreman'. However, whereas G is 'costed' at around £210,500, with improvements representing little more than 7.5% of this (it never featured a bath-suite [ibid. 86] and its one hypocaust [ibid. 62] may never have been fired), in contrast, building D 'cost' £272,000, with enhancements valued at 20% of this, including both a bath-suite and hypocaust from the start. Even B, the least-developed building, is 'costed' at £170,000, and appears to have had a higher proportion of its rooms decorated (Liversidge 1976: 272) than building G (ibid. 281).

The modern stigma attached to such aisled houses is deep-seated. Haverfield (1924: 229-31) describes the corridor building at Mansfield Woodhouse as the *villa urbana* and 'lords residence', with the aisled house, or *villa rustica* 'more rudely

built' for 'servants or labourers'. Collingwood and Myres (1937: 218) label them 'humbler villas'; Richmond (1963: 120) calls them 'barn dwellings'; and Collingwood and Richmond (1969: 147) associate the type with 'primitive elements' in society, lived in by 'a socially lower class' (ibid. 149). Hadman (1978: 190) proposes that these buildings had mainly 'agricultural and industrial' uses. Morris (1979: 61) argues that the aisled building was 'never the home of the very rich'. Frere (1987: 264) thinks these were 'the simplest and cheapest large building which could give the appearances of Romanization'. Judgementalism towards such 'lowlier' buildings persists (Evans 2003: 22).

Perring (2002: 54-5) suggests a contradictory view, that these are a 'manifestation of abundance' .. and 'places of wealth storage'. Embellished aisled villas in the fourth century could represent 'architectural propaganda' (ibid: 43) at a time when food shortages might still occur or be recalled. These are echoes of Purcell's arguments (1995) that villas in Italy represented the 'romance of storage' (ibid. 169), 'productive display' (ibid. 170), the 'workforce on show' (ibid. 170), and 'centres of accumulation' (ibid. 172). Newman's 'costings' for aisled buildings suggest there is indeed a case to recognise status through such agricultural ostentation and can be taken to support the ideas that Purcell was exploring.

2.9.5. Bancroft: 'Quality rather than quantity'

The mid-fourth to early-fifth century Phase V refurbishment of the main villa building (I) at Bancroft (fig.5) featured the remodelling of one bath-suite, the addition of another, the provision of a corridor and porch, and the laying of mosaics in six of the 12 rooms (Zeepvat 1994: 175). Of only medium size (approx. 33m x 10m), the villa is exceptional for the number of mosaics, including two of special quality, and for having two bath-suites in simultaneous use (ibid. 208-9). The investment in mosaics is considered excessive for the size of the building (ibid. 258) and excavator Bob Zeepvat (pers.comm.) considers that overall 'the inhabitants ... opted for quality rather than quantity'.

Newman's 'costings' enable such impressions to be presented more objectively. Estimates are based on a single storey although an upper floor was possible (ibid. 208). His figure of £240,000 places the villa somewhat incongruously in Faulkner's 'large' category, whilst the proportion attributed to status embellishments is 35%. In comparison (fig.5) Easton Maudit 'cost' £305,000, but with improvements valued

at only 10% of this (Woodfield and Woodfield 1994). Consequently the example of Bancroft challenges the tendency for archaeologists to equate prestige only with size. One aspect of consumer behaviour of possible relevance is the trait of vanity (Netemeyer et al. 1995). This is understood either as achievement-oriented, concerned with 'symbols of success' and 'acquisition-related', or as physical vanity and identifiable with narcissism. Perhaps a high degree of body-awareness is inferred by the presence of duplicated bathing facilities, with the large southern bath-suite probably the setting for rare wall-plaster depictions of marine life.

2.9.6. *Welton Wold: 'Eschewing consumption values'*

Building estimates suggest that the modest (19.4 x 13.4m) five-room villa built in stone at Welton Wold would have 'cost' around £75,000 (fig.6). Its curiosity value lies in the complete absence of aggrandizement during 300 years of occupation; there was no evidence of roof tiles, tessellation, window glass or wall-plaster, nor of wings, a hypocaust or bath-house (Mackey 1998; and Rodney Mackey pers.comm.). Yet this late-first century villa was symmetrically planned and incorporated both a corridor and a dominant central room, features that are strongly associated with Roman social values (e.g. Perring 2002: 155, 160). Suggestive also of the site's early status are finds of two of only four metalwork items (out of 900 found) to be labelled 'expensive' (unpub. specialist report), namely a strip bow brooch and a hinged jug lid. The only stylus was also early. What makes the 'fossilised' circumstances of the villa more odd is its proximity to Brough (2 km), a possible *civitas* capital with extra-mural suburbs and which increasingly is providing evidence of its scale and activities (Jallands 1990; Hunter-Mann et al. 2000). Welton is also close to the sophisticated villa at Brantingham (Liversidge et al. 1973). The excavator's explanation for this stagnation, which he links to the deliberate mid-second century backfilling of the 30m deep well, is a 'personal tragedy', causing the owners to leave, the estate being run from elsewhere (Mackey 1998: 28). This does not really account for the continuance, expansion and prosperity of the farm in a 'Roman' manner (aisled barns, crop driers etc.) given a villa building unchanged until the early-fifth century.

The consumer conduct known as 'voluntary simplicity', that can be contrasted with a state of 'involuntary complexity' (Kilbourne 1992: 161), offers an alternative discourse. This is behaviour which eschews consumption values, preferring freedom from personal materialism. It is not a trait associated with poverty; to the contrary, it

is seen as a form of empowerment (Elgin 2000: 398-9), a decision to achieve freedom from materialism, and a lifestyle as 'outwardly more simple and inwardly more rich'. He contrasts a world view that places emphasis on possessions and social position with one requiring 'connectedness and community' (ibid. 404). One value considered central to such a lifestyle is self-determination, or the wish to take more control over one's own destiny (Leonard-Barton 1981: 244), and this may be an alternative consumerist explanation for those who look for evidence of 'resistance' to Roman values (e.g. Kurchin 1995; Hingley 1997). The desire for material simplicity has been noted in the ancient world (Rudmin and Kilbourne 1996: 184-90), advocated by the Roman schools of Stoic, Epicurean and Sceptic thought, each recognising the relationship between peace of mind and transcending the material world (ibid. 186).

Such attitudes, rather than the absence of wealth or a lack of interest in owning a Roman villa, may also explain why some sites display the earliest stages of development into something more grand, before such a trajectory is then abandoned. As an example, a small late-first century stone foundation building at Seamer in North Yorkshire was enclosed, featured a cobbled corridor and a rudimentary gatehouse, had internal features and was associated with finds of samian pottery and amphora sherds, glass and brooches (Stephens 2000), but there was no further aggrandizement.

2.9.7. *Wells: 'Investing in water supply'*

The control of water in Roman Italy, where summer heat made astute management of supplies essential, has been recognised as central to both the investment and social display strategies of the villa elite (Purcell 1996b). The demonstration of landscape improvement that this represented echoed the legendary associations of the creation of Rome by Romulus among the floodable water-meadows of the River Tiber (ibid. 199). Hydrological management inferred the domination of nature and became associated with the rhetoric of imperial power (ibid. 206). Investment in environmental productivity, which represented the cultural manipulation of nature, therefore conveyed a deep cosmological symbolism within the Empire and may have shaped attitudes among the villa elite in Roman Britain.

Despite this, and conditioned by our wetter climate, archaeological discussion of water supply on Romano-British villas has tended to play down such allusions, concentrating instead on the ritual, and in particular, depositional significance of

wells. Examples include Merrifield (1987: 45-8), Scott (1991: 116-20), and Webster (1997: 139-40). Villa sites within this study area offer evidence of such votive practice; at Welton (Mackey 1998: 28) at least 68 animals were thrown into the shaft in an apparent act of ritual closure.

Such an approach, although important, overlooks the functional dimension to a well and the possibility that even in Britain water supply could additionally be expressive of rural management through consumption. Such an interpretation would allow us to discuss wells more holistically as having religious and management meanings that were inseparable. In fact, Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 8.1) concentrates solely on offering practical advice for digging a well and does not discuss any beliefs that might be associated with its construction or use. That relatively few villas provide evidence of wells (Burgers 2001: 18) may be explained by factors such as small-scale excavations, an antiquarian focus on artefacts, and by their deep burial with surface soil or collapse. Wells nevertheless may provide a valuable consumer insight, one aspect of which is the initial cost of digging. Newman provides estimates for two contrasting wells (fig.7). At Piddington (Simpson 2002: 31), one of the country's largest diameter stone-lined wells (c2m across by 8.25m in depth) would have represented an 'investment' of approximately £14,000, or nearly 20% of Newman's estimated 'cost' of a 'small' villa. This involved excavating a construction pit, subsequent spreading and levelling, breaking limestone, packing with stiff clay, adding small stones and providing and placing stonework, both to a false floor and the sides. At Rudston (Stead 1980: 26-30), the measurements of a chalk-cut well were nearly 3m in diameter, considered significantly wide, by over 30m, considered significantly deep, and would have 'cost' £15,000 (lining was provided only near the surface).

A further consumption consideration arises from the use of the wells. Both were sited close to bathing facilities and the initial cost of their construction aside, operating a bath-house from a well involved considerable additional resources. At Rudston it has been suggested that the well probably made a 'Roman' lifestyle possible because running water was some distance away. To be added therefore is the 'cost' of labour, possibly involving four people or animal power, if Pacitto's estimates are accurate (ibid. 114-6). Although a further statistic is non-comparable because bath-houses differed in size, Zeepvat (1994: 209) has suggested that the plunge baths at Bancroft would need regular changes of water that theoretically

required up to 935 buckets at a time, although in fact a spring coupled to leats and pipes was the selected method there.

Clearly a well could be a significant focus for consumption display when in use. Additionally it might be strong and status-enhancing evidence for conspicuous waste (Veblen 1925: 85) when back-filled, alongside any ritual motive.

2.9.8. *Villa gardens – ‘aesthetics as status’*

Owning a domestic garden in the Roman world could be a way of expressing status (Farrar 2000; Carroll 2003a). It could be sought by incorporating architectural elements (for example, a sense of planning, terracing, pathways, ornamental fences and pergolas, garden furniture, religious settings, and decorative walls etc.), but also with the use of water features, statuary and difficult to prove, the planting of popular types of flowers or shrubs. Purcell (1996a) draws on literary references to emphasise that the ownership and intensive cultivation of a *hortus*, or horticultural plot, was central to Roman values, possibly dating back to Romulus (ibid. 122). For owners of villas a garden could add amenity to this sense of productivity, and symbolically confirm a sense of control over nature (ibid. 135). At Oplontis, near Pompeii, the villa of Poppaea had at least 13 gardens, most of them formal (Carroll 2003a: 36), whilst within the Vesuvian city itself over 5% of the excavated area is represented by ornamental gardens, such as the House of the Vettii (ibid. 34).

Contemporary insights into the popularity of gardens revealed by research into environmental cognition suggest a universality that could be relevant to the ancient world. Psychological benefits arise from the sense of accomplishment and the fascination involved in growing things (Kaplan 1973). Gardening, with which the elite would perhaps be involved vicariously, is challenging and rewarding because it invites ‘recognition, prediction, control, and evaluation’ (ibid. 160), an informational process that humans enjoy.

Although garden archaeology is in its infancy in this country, and evidence will have been overlooked or destroyed, traces from Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Cunliffe 1998) suggest that a garden reflecting such values contributed to its architectural prestige. Villas elsewhere with apparent garden features are described by Zeepvat (1991) and Farrar (2000), and recent work in front of Chedworth villa in Gloucestershire reveals that in the early-fourth century a possibly lawned ‘garden

court' was created using soil that was brought in especially (Carroll 2003b). Evidence from this study area includes wall-plaster which illustrates decorative fencing at Rudston (Stead 1980: plate XVIb); putative trellis alignments for fruit trees in front of Piddington villa (Farrar 2000: 153); and intermittent stretches of wall with trellis foundations which suggest landscaping at Piercebridge (Harding 1984: 17). Preserved clippings of box at Winterton (Murphy and Scaife 1991: 88) are particularly suggestive given Roman enthusiasm for topiary attested both by The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 16. 70, 140) and The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 5.6), and the apparent evidence for box roots found in gardens in Pompeii (Peters and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1999).

More comprehensive finds at Bancroft afford an opportunity to introduce a 'cost analysis' with which to interpret the status of gardens and to help view them as an extension of the villa ideal. A formal walled garden (probably 35.5m x 42m) fronted the villa and featured a centrepiece fishpond (13m x 2.6m) finished with limestone slabs (Zeepvat 1994: 188-9). Patches of dark humic soil were found, and evidence of trenches for piped water, with a nearby polygonal building considered either a gazebo or shrine. A separate kitchen garden (20m x 43m) was interpreted by virtue of its size, position and the find of a pruning knife. Detailed 'costings' at today's prices for the formal and kitchen gardens at Bancroft have been prepared by landscaping specialist Rodney Casey (pers.comm.) based on data derived from Zeepvat (1991; 1994), although assumptions about the original state of the land and gardening practice make real 'accuracy' impossible. For the formal garden, excluding the pond, there would have been preparatory expenses (levelling, digging, seeding, hedging, planting etc.) of £7000 with costs for the walled garden, additionally including the making of frames and trellises etc., of £3500. Allowances have been made for the supply of flowers, plants, hedges, shrubs and trees, for although the surviving archaeobotanical evidence for these is poor in Roman Britain, as at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Cunliffe 1971a: 128), the appreciation of garden environments in the ancient world is attested in house decorations and literary descriptions (Carroll 2003a: chapters 6-8). Year-round gardening and maintenance work would equate to the labour of 1.5 people, or £20,000 in wages, annually. As an approximation, the Fishbourne Palace gardens would have 'cost' three times more (Rodney Casey pers.comm.), and pruning the (probable) box hedges there would have been particularly labour intensive.

The pond at Bancroft has been estimated by Jack Newman to have ‘cost’ a further £7600 (at 1994 prices), or 10% of the price of a small villa. In a study of Roman *piscinae*, Higginbotham (1997) suggests that aside from breeding fish for the purpose of nutrition, which was an unlikely motive in the relatively small pond at Bancroft, fish could provide the owner in Italy with ‘sensory enjoyment’ (ibid. 1) derived from the pleasure of owning a water resource, exhibiting their pets and displaying a decorative feature (ibid. 57). Status was expressed through pond ownership and special guests would be invited into the garden to view the pond (ibid. 64). Villas in Roman Britain with similar facilities have been noted (Zeepvat 1988a).

Such examples suggest the degree to which villa owners were prepared to consume to display values that for centuries had been manifest in Roman Italy.

2.9.9. ‘Costing a consumer revolution’

So-called ‘consumer revolutions’ in the past, typically associated with an elite, are usually portrayed in descriptive terms. Adshead (1997: 11) suggests that the first can be related to the *limes* lifestyle of the Roman and Chinese Empires, the frontier mix of peoples and products resulting in an increased tendency to consume and in new and extravagant ways. Woolf (1998: 174-93) argues that Romanization might be characterised as a change in patterns of consumption reflected in the extra volume, variety and symbolism of finds (e.g. *amphorae* and *sigillata*) on Roman compared with Iron Age sites. The propensity to consume conspicuously has also been associated elsewhere with China’s Han dynasty from c200BC-AD200 (Burke 1993), trade in Indian calicoes and pictorial prints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Mukerji 1983), stylish dress at court in Elizabethan England (McCracken 1990), and a mania for varied colours of tulips in seventeenth century Holland (Bianchi 1998: 1).

Newman’s estimates of villa construction ‘costs’ on 78 sites at 25-year intervals from the Flavian period to the end of the fourth century may offer a more ‘precise’ picture of varying consumer demand in the countryside. Faulkner (2000) has presented this information using only charts (ibid. 71, 138), but a detailed analysis using his original statistics can offer more revealing insights. First, by dividing the combined construction cost of villas in each period by the number of properties within that time frame, a per villa average ‘cost’ allows this index to be tracked throughout the Roman period. The broad picture is that of declining unit cost: figures

of approximately £195,000 (years AD100/125) and £186,000 (125/150) dropping in successive periods to £91,000 (250/275), with an upward blip to £133,000 (275/300) before again declining to £52,000 (350/375), followed by a final upward blip to £85,000 (375/400). This pattern confirms conclusions drawn following rank-size modelling (Gregson 1982: 165) that the average dimensions of villas declined over time. Further 'costing' analysis suggests a degree of consumption mania within the period AD275/300: this is observed because the total additional construction expenditure in that period as a proportion of all villa investment (AD 60/400) exceeds 17%. This late consumer revolution (275/300 plus 300/325) represents 27% of all villa expenditure, compared to around 19% for 125/175, or 27% for the longer 125/200 period, and takes into account the fact that a small number of villas grew much larger. Benchmarking opportunities also arise from comparing these average villa costings for any period against the equivalent chronological estimates for any given villa, and against subsequent stages of its development over time; these can also be set against the computed average(s) for a regional/tribal grouping of villas; or similarly for comparing costings for villas in other provinces.

2.9.10. *'Consuming with higher motives'*

A reconstruction of the late-second century temple-mausoleum at Bancroft (Williams 1994: 99-102; Woodfield 1994: 239-41) which stood for possibly 150 years, though it was not necessarily always used, provides an opportunity to 'cost' religious and ancestral motives. Built in characteristic Romano-Celtic temple style, and 12.2m x 12.2m, it featured an underground burial vault, architectural stonework, a tessellated and probably also a mosaic pavement, a surrounding wall, a tiled roof and an upper floor (see isometric illustration: *ibid.* 240). There was 'no expense spared' (*ibid.* 225). Newman 'prices' the building at £85-£95,000, or the equivalent of a small villa, and it is perhaps significant that this expression of prominently sited consumption could be viewed and appreciated both from the villa and Watling Street (*ibid.* 102). The likelihood of long periods of continuity in settlement practice on the site from the Bronze Age right through the intervening periods is suggested, and there was a first century cremation cemetery nearby (Williams 1994: 63-72).

Whilst mausolea have rarely been recognised in Roman Britain, a correlation has been made geographically and chronologically between villas and investment in rural temples (Horne 1981: 21-6), a pattern that emerged from the third century.

Millett (1990: 196) suggests this is a manifestation of status display as much as it reflects religious observance. As with the Bancroft mausoleum the 'costing' formula could be used elsewhere to track such consumption decisions. For example, at Cosgrove (Quinnell 1991: 57-8), a stone temple close to the main house replaced a timber shrine during a late-second century redevelopment and may have coincided with the closing of the bath-house. This may suggest a consumption decision to display status in a new, and increasingly more fashionable way, particularly as the temple was tiled, glazed and plastered (ibid. 21). A further case-study of consuming with such higher motives could be examined at Thistleton Dyer. Here a religious complex close to the villa reveals a sequence from a circular timber shrine, to a later 12.5m diameter round stone temple with coloured mosaic, located within a walled *temenos*, and which was overlain by a substantially-built rectangular basilical stone temple which featured plain tessellation and window glass (Jennings, forthcoming).

2.9.11. Piddington: 'Costing weaknesses exposed'

Piddington villa, arranged around three sides of a courtyard, has been 'costed' at over £400,000 and therefore features in Faulkner's 'palatial' class. Because of the thoroughness of on-going excavations and the fortuitous survival of evidence, this example can also demonstrate the limitations of the quantification approach as the only entry point with which we can approach consumer behaviour.

The villa's decorative style was arguably flamboyant (Friendship-Taylor R.M. and D.E. 1989a, 1989b and pers.comm.; Bidwell 1996). Key elements include over-painted roof-tiles and multi-coloured and patterned external rendering. These special effects (if that was their purpose) would have been visible from high ground across a valley in front of the villa which appears to be the route by which it was approached. To this environment of apparent ostentation can be added the 'unique evidence' (Ward 1999: 30, 89) of fragments of several dozen different finials, possibly ornamental roof architecture, and which coincided with the second/third century *floruit* of the villa. If not intended as deliberately visible accessories, other uses might have been as chimney pots, devices for air flow, or some ritual purpose (Ward 1999). Adding to this picture of possible other-directed display were the use of the expensive pigments cinnabar and Egyptian blue (Morgan 1992: 290), colourful *opus spicatum* floors (Ward 1999: 43) and a mosaic featuring reverse patterning of light and dark which Neal and Cosh (2002: 252) describe as 'very unusual in Britain'.

Whilst Newman does introduce differential costs for the variable quality of mosaics none of the specialist work involved in creating such 'extrovert' decorative finesses has been allowed for. A future model for costing should introduce reasoned quantitative extras to reflect such styling nuances.

On the other hand a qualitative interpretation can be offered at Piddington that derives from social psychology. Allowing for cultural context, building materials can reveal self-presentational strategies (Sadalla and Sheets 1993), and this is discussed below. Also, consumer behaviour studies reveal how some people use possessions to differentiate themselves from their reference group in order to confirm a self-image of uniqueness (Tepper Tian et al. 2001). Such 'counter-conformity motivation' (ibid. 50) occurs when consumers feel their identity is threatened because it resembles others.

2.9.12. 'Costing a continuum of rural consumption'

Millett (1992:2) argues that a villa represents 'a decision to display existing wealth in a particular way'. Woolf (1998:148) proposes that rural sites should be classified 'by the amount and type of consumption they represent'. How can these overlapping suggestions help us to understand the archaeological evidence?

One approach is to define and interpret a continuum of villa investment, over time and space. The Newman 'costing' model offers this opportunity, as can be demonstrated using selected villas in Northamptonshire. For Piddington (fig.8), successive phases of expenditure can be itemised as follows: the first timber proto-villa 'cost' £51,000; the initial two cottage stone houses jointly 'cost' £106,000; the aggrandizement of the main range 'cost' £78,000; the mid- to late-second century upgrading, including two bathing facilities, a mosaic and tessellated pavement 'cost' £157,000; and finally (but excluding the cost of rebuilding after a fire) there were some late villa embellishments that 'totalled' £82,000. These figures represent new spending, although some phased demolition on a modest scale may have reduced the net consumption represented at any given time, and therefore also the final investment figure. Nevertheless by the late-third century the overall sum 'invested' in stone buildings at Piddington is clearly in the order of £400,000, accumulated during a period of some 200 years. The value of such figures lies in their diachronic comparability.

Scope also exists, subject to evidence, to compare villas within a geographical or tribal area as the basis for further interpretation derived from architectural

consumption. Three comparisons are made to explore this potential (fig.9). Using the Newman model the Mileoak villa is shown to represent 'investment' cAD65-75 of at least £200,000 for about a century until it was demolished. This total was not exceeded at Piddington (17 km away) until the late-second century and is suggestive of a higher relative social standing at the former site in the early period. The conversion of Redlands Farm (22 km from Piddington) from a second century two-room mill (that would have cost c£25,000) by the fourth century to a small winged corridor villa with a central mosaic and hypocaust would have cost over £100,000. Such villa expenditure may be regarded as modest. On the other hand, the integration of a possibly revered long-standing building within the villa introduces the idea that this was the home of an old established family (p219). If so, overall investment in the house may have mattered little to social standing. Making allowances for excavation that is incomplete and the probability of an undiscovered detached bath-house, it seems likely that the main range at Easton Maudit villa (15 km from Piddington), can be 'costed' at over £300,000 (assuming two-storey round towers), but involved interior status expenditure (mosaics, hypocaust, tessellated pavements) valued at only around 10% (fig.5). This was roughly the same total as was invested in the long frontal corridor which may have been intended not only to present an imposing symmetry, but also to hide or disguise what was clearly a small rectangular house behind. It is possible that this is evidence of status anxiety that led to 'symbolic self-completion' through the building of this impressive and architecturally-cohesive corridor. If so, it may be that this was at the apparent expense of the more traditional forms of architectural consumption as viewed by archaeologists, those representing interior symbols of status.

2.9.13. *Nene Valley Vintage: 'Costing the status of a vineyard'*

Evidence of Roman viticulture, extending to 50 or more hectares in the Nene Valley in Northamptonshire, provides an opportunity to 'cost' what may have been an especially status-enhancing use of land. This exercise will focus on Wollaston, and in particular one putative vineyard thought to have covered 12 hectares. Excavation here has revealed evidence of over 6km of planting trenches lined with post holes and is supported by paleobotanical analysis that reveals the presence of the grape pollen, *Vitis* (Brown and Meadows 2000).

This pattern of *pastinatio* trench cultivation matches the descriptions offered by classical writers, including Cato (*On Agriculture*, 10-28), and Columella (*On Agriculture*, 2.5.) and therefore suggests both literary and cultural awareness. The vineyard is located close to the probable Irchester to Towcester road, and is near the small town of Irchester, and the river here is navigable and could have facilitated the transportation of grapes or barrels of the finished wine. Whilst excavation points to a series of small scale, apparently low-status farmsteads that were perhaps responsible for vine cultivation (Brown and Meadows 2000: 491), it is possible that these were subordinate to nearby Little Irchester villa (Ian Meadows pers.comm.). The winged-corridor property is attested by cropmarks and surface finds of tesserae, tiles and painted wall-plaster (RCHM 1979: 176).

An emerging taste for wine drinking is suggested in pre-conquest Britain by first century BC imports of the amphorae types, Dressel 1A and 1B (Dannell 1979: 177). Recent work has examined the distribution of bronze drinking paraphernalia found in burials in southern Britain in the late Iron Age and whilst numbers both of amphorae and these wine accoutrements are not substantial, the emergence of a ritual/ceremonial motive alongside a secular context for drinking wine seems likely (Carver 2001: 38). It is probable that during the Roman period wine became a characteristic feature of social and feasting activities (Dunbabin 1996: 66; Cosh 2001: 224), and was served throughout the meal, and with an awareness of the subtleties of vintage (Dunbabin 2003: 21). Suggesting the association between wine and social status, around 70 mosaics in Britain feature a *cantharus* (wine-cup) motif, whilst others depict the god Bacchus or incorporate illustrations of grapes (Cosh 2003: 7). Examples where *canthari* have been found on villa mosaics in this study area include Cotterstock (Neal and Cosh 2002: 233) and Brantingham (ibid. 329). Possible portrayals of Bacchus are noted at Oulston and Rudston (Witts 1995: 17). Stressing the enjoyment associated with drinking wine are funerary reliefs and epitaphs in Roman Italy and elsewhere that convey the importance of living for today (Dunbabin 2003: 2-3, 126-7), whilst vessels were commonly placed in tombs.

Purcell (1985) integrates literary and archaeological evidence to trace the evolution of wine consumption in Roman Italy. The elite traditionally were identified with viticulture because of the necessary investment, the weather-related risks, the expense of labour (wine-growing required three times more workers than arable farming or olive oil cultivation) and, later, the specific involvement of senatorial

families. A special vintage could enhance reputation, and viticulture could bring social honour because it was 'showy, racy, exciting and famous' (ibid. 19). In a separate study (Purcell 1995), it is argued that agricultural intensification, including viticulture, could contribute in Roman Italy to the status of a villa owner through visual display in the countryside. It represented evidence of control over the landscape, workers, tenants, production, storage and was a metaphor for power in general.

Meadows (1996: 215) highlights the probability that operating a vineyard in Roman Britain would be a considerable investment but this is not made fully explicit. A modern 'costing' exercise was therefore undertaken by the author in order to suggest the magnitude of the resources involved. During the course of the work it was noted that inaccurate statistics had been quoted by Brown and Meadows (2000: 492), who propose that there were 4000 vines in the vineyard under discussion with a likely output of 10,500 litres. These figures are too low and Ian Meadows (pers.comm.) now accepts that the more realistic estimates are 18,000 vines and 40,000 litres.

Discussions with a vine-grower (George Bowden at the privately-run Leventhorpe vineyard, near Leeds) and Ian Meadows provided the background that enabled a questionnaire to be prepared that was put to vineyards in the Midlands and south of England. A dozen commercial vineyards were telephoned to ask for their input and were then e-mailed with the survey. Not all could or would answer all the questions, but valuable insights were obtained nevertheless. It is acknowledged that weaknesses in the project include not knowing the exact density of the vines during the Roman period, not being able to make allowances for weather, insects, disease etc., and assuming that labour was paid for, rather than supplied free by slaves. On the other hand slaves were a cost (in respect of managing, housing and feeding them etc.) and Purcell (1995: 170) observes that for reasons of social prestige it was intended that working slaves were there to be noticed. The investment implication of operating a vineyard is further underlined by the suggestion (Purcell 1985: 3-4) that temporary workers ('hired vintagers') were used for harvesting because it was too expensive to feed slaves year-round for work that is characterised by such peaks and troughs of activity.

The figures that follow offer a modern assessment of the costs of a 12-hectare stretch of the Nene Valley vineyard and are drawn from the various replies received.

The work and resources required can be compared with the guidelines offered by Columella and Cato (above). Start-up expenses, excluding land, were identified as being in a range from £24,000 - £36,000 to purchase the vines, a further £18,000 - £27,000 for stakes, plus the cost of employing between six and nine people full-time for several years whilst the new vines were becoming established. It can be assumed that strips of bark would have been used to tie the vines, and this would have been a further expense, in terms of time, to provide. Some of the vineyard operators propose that it can cost over £100,000 annually, and take from three to five years in preparation before the first worthwhile crop is returned.

For an established 12-hectare vineyard an estimate given for the annual labour requirement for respective vineyard jobs would be: ploughing/digging (200 man-days); spring planting (150); weeding (200); tying up the growing shoots (200); picking (400); pruning (400); together with an allowance for manual pressing (although animal power may well have worked a mechanical press) of 90 man-days. Together with the cost of additional part-time support some specialists suggested that this could lead to an annual wages bill of around £200,000. The classical model which assumes the use of part-time labour for harvesting is recognised today with a typical figure of 20-30 workers being hired for three or four weeks in the autumn.

Whilst non-comparable with the circumstances of Roman Northamptonshire such statistics build on the arguments both of Purcell and Meadows (above), that running a vineyard was costly and potentially a display of status.

2.9.14. Improving the 'costing' model

The pioneering Newman 'costing' formula arguably demonstrates the potential to apply building estimates to villa studies and therefore to offer consumption insights, but it can be improved. In particular, note can be taken of the problems experienced recently in constructing a villa at Butser (Evans 2003). Using virtual reality techniques an architect could produce a set of fully detailed drawings together with a comprehensive specification for any particular villa, and not simply use rounded figures. From these details a quantity surveyor could prepare detailed bills of quantities which could be priced at current rates thus enabling a more precise 'cost' to be calculated. The issue of upper storeys can be better addressed by interpreting those known examples, such as Meonstoke, Carsington and Redlands Farm (Neal 1996b) and extrapolating the wall width-height relationships as a benchmark for

assessing the loading potential of walls at other villas. Better recording of evidence of how Roman buildings collapsed would assist their architectural re-interpretation (Alan Sorrell, quoted by Evans 2003: 9), and there are valuable insights into the reconstruction of buildings in Drury (1982). Mineral and rock analysis of materials can pinpoint the likely origin of these fabrics and enable a transportation figure to be incorporated. Figures for decorative finishes could be added for wall-plaster, using modern case-studies in imitation, and estimates more accurately assessed for mosaic flooring by again using recent costings for replicas. Estimates from the re-creation of the Sparsholt villa at Butser Farm for a television programme will provide a measure of 'authenticity' to these calculations (p112-3).

Finally, there is the consideration of house maintenance. This is referred to in villa reports in terms of repairs, usually described simply as well- or badly-done. No modern costings can itemise such issues because 'making good' has to be viewed in context. Newman acknowledges that both external and internal restoration work would be required over time, including tiles, exposed timbers, stonework, stoke-holes, hypocausts, plunge baths etc. He suggests that during, say, a 100-year period (and many villa buildings stood for two or three times as long), it would be realistic to expect the total of such intermittent costs to equal the original investment in the building. Illustrating this point today, a report in *The Times* (15.01.04) states that the annual cost of repairs for each of the 43 bishops' 'palaces' owned by the Church of England averages £28,000, and no doubt these buildings are already well-maintained. Issues of status and financial ability could have arisen if a prestigious villa were allowed to fall into disrepair or to display ageing beyond the levels that might be interpreted positively as attractive wear and tear, or patina, which is discussed below.

The potential to interpret a villa in terms of consumer attitudes to maintenance is suggested at Stanton Low (Woodfield with Johnson 1989). The evidence of transition between Phase 3 (mid-third century) and Phase 4 (late-third/mid-fourth century), indicates recession in the former and renewal during the latter (ibid. 144, 265). Repairs are suggested in different buildings by refurbished hypocausts, the replacing of window glass, the use of a different shelly roof tile and other apparent renovations. Whilst different conclusions will be drawn when comparing signs of major structural change with what may have been cosmetic improvements, scope may exist to interpret whether or not an owner was, in today's terms, 'house-proud'. A

classical source that offers a clue is The Younger Pliny, who writes about a Campanian villa ‘suffering from its age .. so I will have it restored...’ (*Ep.* 6.30).

Chapter Three. Introducing consumer behaviour theory to villa studies

3.1. *Consumerist vocabulary in use*

Archaeologists already, though sometimes subjectively, use language and structures derived from modern consumer behaviour theory in their interpretation of villas. References from recent studies follow that illustrate the possible risks involved in deploying an everyday consumerist vocabulary with apparently unproblematic and straightforward meanings in the context of the Roman world.

In explaining fourth century villa aggrandizement, de la Bédoyère (1999: 86) refers to ‘change in the spending practices of the rich ... creaming off a disproportionate quantity of the Province’s turnover’. Faulkner (2000: 132) describes late-third century ‘sophisticates’ expressing affluence, power and status through Roman-style architecture and art to conform with the ‘prevailing fashion’ and contributing to ‘a villa building craze’ (ibid. 142). Decisions made by villa owners in respect of household decoration would be subject to peer group evaluation ‘at a local, provincial or empire-wide level’ (Scott 2000: 169). Mosaics were ‘luxury expensive goods’ and even geometric styles were evidence of ‘emulation amongst local elites’ taking place (ibid. 170). Ellis (2000: 182) suggests that the manifestation of wealth went beyond ‘conspicuous consumption’ to the pursuit of influence, but Roman amenities could be simply ‘attractive’ and not acquired only as a device to secure power (ibid. 191). He acknowledges the likely effect of individual expression in house design and décor (ibid.9). The period between the late-second and early-fourth centuries saw ‘a small and comparatively secure elite, competing within itself’ (Perring 2002: 220). The ‘fashion for *luxuria* was driven by ‘the need to search out new means of displaying status ... to retain a distinction between superior behaviour and the imitative aspirations of inferior classes’ (ibid. 215 – after Cicero).

It is argued in this thesis that such arguments make over-simplistic presumptions about consumer conduct. This is not surprising given the long-standing view that identity in traditional societies was largely immutable (Storey 1999: 134-5), arising from inheritance and not shaped by cultural consumption. One consequence has been a tendency to focus on manufacture and trade, with consumers seen merely as the passive end-users of functional objects. An example is a chapter entitled

Production and Consumption in a study of Pompeii (Laurence 1994) which simply describes the patterning of workshops and town-country exchange without discussing what is now understood as the 'social psychology of economic behaviour' (Furnham and Lewis 1986) or the 'psychological economics' of consumer behaviour (Earl 1988).

3.2. *Applying consumption insights*

Because consumption phraseology is often used uncritically by Romanists it is valuable to introduce the diverse range of theories for consumer behaviour, as presently understood. One consideration is that there is in fact no overarching model; for example, Fine and Leopold (1993: 59) list over 60 relevant 'variables' including learning, choice, status, lifestyle, materialism and mood. Friedman (1994: 17) argues that only a 'framework of analysis' may be achievable, one which seeks to integrate social relationships with consumer behaviour. With this in mind three stages of interpretation have been adopted in this work.

First, attention is drawn to those landmark studies which have shaped the consumption discourse. These are: *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen [1899] 1925); *Fashion* (Simmel [1957] 1904); *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 1958); *The Joyless Economy* (Scitovsky 1976); *The World of Goods* (Douglas and Isherwood 1979); *Conspicuous Consumption* (Mason 1981); *The Birth of the Consumer Society* (McKendrick et al. 1982); *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984); *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Miller 1987); *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Campbell 1987); *The Consumer Society* (Baudrillard [1970] 1998); *Culture and Consumption* (McCracken 1990); and *The Social Psychology of Possessions* (Dittmar 1992). In addition, valuable recent overviews feature in Bocock (1993), Corrigan (1997), Goodwin et al. (1997), Dant (1999) and Storey (1999).

Second, it is proposed to identify selected consumption concepts which might open up the topic of villas to wider discussion by drawing material from a genre of recent consumer behaviour manuals (e.g. Engel et al. 1995; Sheth et al. 1999; Solomon 2002; Schiffman and Kanuk 2004; Solomon and Rabolt 2004), supported by their source references. Typically these business texts are 500 to 800 pages long and intended for marketing practitioners seeking a perspective on the motives of

prospective customers. Their approach is to combine academic understandings with micro-consumption case-studies, which may be seen as an advantage to this study because such examples can draw on actual evidence of consumer behaviour. Third, an attempt will be made to apply such insights to data from villa excavation reports.

To reduce a complex topic to manageable proportions it is intended here to discuss consumption using the broad framework adopted in the consumer manuals: within its cultural context, in terms of social relationships, and as an outcome of personal behaviour.

3.2.1. Acquiring consumption values

A logical starting point is to ask how and why did the elite learn to consume domestic architecture in outwardly 'Roman' ways. The diffusion of villas after the conquest has been discussed, their subsequent spread and patterning throughout this study area suggesting the continuing importance of many Iron Age sites (Appendix 2), and with the road system and nucleated settlements apparently also influential factors (chapter 5).

What makes this topic relevant is the recognition that at some point a particular generation of a respective family or kin-group suddenly made a dramatic decision (for them) to consume differently. Quite apart from having to respond to issues of cosmology and the altered use of space that a villa represented, there were implications in respect of mastering new construction methods and resourcing the necessary materials and skills. Romanists have proposed that a further transformation took place. It has been assumed that villas, possibly overnight, came to be viewed more in terms of their social meaning, as an expression of status, than for their functional purpose. Explanations suggested by archaeologists for this are outlined below. In consumption studies, however, this is understood as 'self-image and product image congruence' (Solomon 1983: 319). We are being told, in effect, that the villa owner was consuming the symbolism, and not just the bricks and mortar.

Our minds today have become accustomed to reading such signals, which are learned from childhood within society through a process of interpreting meanings from others known as 'symbolic interactionism' (ibid. 320). Consequently we do not allow for the periodicity and subjectivity of this starting point. Villa studies have not taken into account that such analysis lies at the heart of consumer behaviour and needs to be theorised. The 'Romanization' concept goes even further down this line

of reasoning by suggesting that degrees of Romanness can be judged from the contrasting mix and quality of amenities that a villa might display. Typically these include most or all of the following: foundations in stone, tiled roofing, prepared flooring in a range from mortar to mosaics, glazed windows, decorated wall-plaster, hypocaust heating and bathing facilities (Hingley and Miles 2002: 159).

To a consumer theorist this is the notion of complementarity, the selection of those products that go together and contribute to a self-image in a way accepted by others as appropriate behaviour (Solomon 1983: 323). This is further deconstructed as the role-playing process known as 'impression management' but Romanists have not used this sociological term. Nor do they seek to explain who was being impressed, or why, especially at the time when villas were first being built and inevitably there were few of them. Symbolic meanings require both communicators and recipients. Finally, analysis of villas and their symbolic meanings within society has not allowed for the variability of human nature. It cannot be assumed that all people were psychologically the same, or that they acted in a wholly standard way because society required it. There is a continuum of perspectives in consumer behaviour that connects those 'macro' variables described as social behaviour to the 'micro' topics that are recognised as the psychologically-shaped responses of individuals. This thesis proposes that villas varied because the personalities of the owners varied, but archaeology has not allowed for the fact that personal motives to consume could have differed.

3.2.2. Previous 'macro' explanations

Even today 'consumers do not automatically use surplus income to satisfy new wants' (Campbell 1987: 18). Consumption values have to be articulated, communicated and accepted, requiring a switch in emphasis from a 'utilitarian' to a 'hedonistic' value system (Tse et al. 1989: 459), the latter marked by the pursuit of novelty and pleasure. Favourable economic circumstances together with shared, supportive meanings in society are usually pre-requisites (ibid. 460). Archaeologists offer a variety of such macro- factors to explain recognised changes in consumption that are noted in the apparent acceptance and dissemination of new 'Roman' ideas in the south east immediately both before the conquest and subsequently. Examples include references to trading and social relationships across the channel (Cunliffe 2004: 7-8); a prestige goods economy (Haselgrove 1982); Empire-System theory

(Hingley 1982: 19); a process of 'social reciprocity' underpinned by gifts (Grahame 1998: 8); interaction with the army (James 2001a); the positive influence of Romanophile chieftains (Braund 1996: 87-8); the leadership shown by an Iron Age aristocracy who had been made familiar with the ways of Rome (Creighton 2000: 217); and cultural interchange between Britain and Gaul (James 2001b). Acculturation, or 'Romanization', is a commonly used explanation, in a continuum from active encouragement (Frere 1987) to conscious choice (Millett 1990). Other suggestions include the contribution towards cultural integration made by the practical and phenomenological influence of Roman roads (Laurence 2001: 90-1) and the part played by contact in towns that helped spread innovative ideas (Esmonde Cleary 1999: 164). It is quite realistic to assume that all these and perhaps other factors were influential, and that they overlapped.

3.2.3. *Micro-analysis: Consumer learning theories:*

The process by which people acquire the skills, beliefs and behaviour necessary to consume is understood as 'consumer socialization' (Gunter and Furnham 1998: 13-4), a micro-consumption model that incorporates social learning and cognitive development theories. Key considerations are to identify influencers of socialization, who in the context of Roman Britain could have been peer members of the elite from within this country or overseas, and also to assess how people gained the appropriate expertise to consume. Four such consumer learning theories possibly become relevant (Sheth et al. 1999: 309-20): cognitive learning (word of mouth or written communication plus recommendation); classical conditioning (paired stimuli that acquire shared associations of meanings); instrumental conditioning (a satisfactory consumption experience which leads to re-use); and modelling (the imitation of role models deemed superior by age, status, skills etc.). Detailed discussion of this topic is outside the field of reference for this thesis but is associated with wider issues affecting the spread outwards from Rome of aristocratic cultural identity. Such factors include the control of the Emperor(s), the authority of the elite, the distribution of power, the development of urban life, the merging of Hellenistic and Roman architectural traditions, and from the second century BC, a burgeoning desire for (and the availability of) consumer luxuries (Wallace-Hadrill 2000).

A possibility in Roman Britain is that the elite travelled from other parts of the country to observe the villas (and Fishbourne Palace) that had been built from the first

century AD in Sussex, possibly by, or for, tribal leaders of the *Regni*. These properties (e.g. Angmering, Eastbourne, Southwick) were developed rapidly and in an immediately elaborate and arguably Mediterranean style (Black 1987: 11-9; Rudling 1998), possibly using imported skills. They may have served in the same way that 'show houses' do today.

One consideration is that members of the elite wrote copiously whilst travelling (e.g. Braund 1996: 45) and this would help to spread new ideas. This may be contextualised as part of the new universality of the Latin language amongst the elite in the western empire, which served as a transforming contribution to the new and widespread definition of identity described above, and a process itself stamped with imperial authority (Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 18-20). It was a contribution to cultural change noted in Gaul (Woolf 1998: 93).

Three simple approaches can be outlined to show how such factors might be considered archaeologically within this study area in order to shape a research agenda for villas. First we can re-focus attention on the diffusion of architectural innovations over space and time and therefore on the opportunities afforded to the elite to view or experience these in person. One example might be to relate the chronology of civic amenities in the *colonia* of Lincoln, which featured large public baths with tessellated pavements from the early-second century (Jones 2002: 71), to the subsequent phasing and elaboration of a number of villas located both to the north (e.g. Blyborough, Scampton, Sturton, Winterton) and south (e.g. Great Casterton, Great Ponton, Stoke) and in relatively close proximity to Ermine Street (ibid. 103). This road, which represented predictable communication between villas, a town and roadside settlements, may arguably have been the linear conduit by which the elite initially heard of new ideas and which they then used to travel to learn at first hand how and what to consume. The validity of this suggestion is dependent on the nature of the evidence, and on reasonable accuracy in dating, but is an approach that has achieved results in the Severn Valley (Meheux 1994). The scope to undertake a similar exercise has been discussed with the Lincolnshire SMR (Mark Bennet pers.comm.). A problem is that the recognition and dating of ceramics prior to the last 20 years may be suspect and some finds would need to be tracked down and re-appraised. There are exceptions, and among the 25 villa sites close to Ermine Street used below in a case-study of inter-visibility, nearly a half feature dateable pottery. Examples are finds of sherds of first/second century amphorae (e.g. Branston), or samian ware (e.g.

Fillingham, Willoughton), or of pottery that has been scientifically evaluated during recent keyhole archaeology arising from pipeline or intervention projects (e.g. Grayingham). In other cases there is an opportunity to take note of possible chronological evidence related to types of brooch (e.g. Londonthorpe), coins (e.g. Greetwell) or mosaics (e.g. Burton).

A similar exercise might focus on Malton in Yorkshire, a probable administrative centre which featured at least one high-quality mosaic and which was ringed in the fourth century by six villas known to have had mosaics, a total that specialists consider is significant (Neal and Cosh 2002: 344). Detailed study may reveal patterned evidence for correlative town-country consumption.

A third option is to consider the changing influence of 'character ideals' over time, those admired qualities which define a desirable self-image (Campbell 1993), and thereby provide an inspiration for consumption behaviour. Analysis which seeks to identify wider cultural attitudes and values within Romano-British society and the likely influence of role models including emperors, provincial governors and other public figures could help to interpret those 'characterological' (ibid. 55) motives and meanings which affected consumer decisions. An example might be a form of celebrity fashionability that the Emperor Hadrian possibly brought to the villa ideal from the second century through building his own palatial version at Tivoli near Rome (Beard and Henderson 2001: 102-5). It covered 30 hectares, featured at least 900 rooms and corridors and incorporated a remarkable collection of statuary. Construction took place from 118 until the mid-130s and Hadrian's Villa was probably the symbolic and entertainment focus for much of his reign (MacDonald and Pinto 1995: 191). Perhaps this exemplar served through word of mouth to inspire the second century villa boom in Roman Britain noted above and elsewhere. Consumer research recognises that the effect a celebrity endorser can have arises from meaning transfer (McCracken 1989: 313), in this case the qualities of Hadrian as a man being identified with the qualities of the villa, and transferred by the fashion process. Owners perhaps created aspects of personal identity for themselves by adopting the inspirational and symbolic meanings constituted with the Emperor, and in effect endorsed by him. This was arguably made even more strongly the case given Hadrian's well-known aesthetic tastes and enthusiasm for architecture (MacDonald 1982: 136; Grant 1985: 81). This process may have started before or during his visit

to Britain in the early 120s, following which his influence is noted or inferred from building initiatives around the Province (Birley 1997: 138).

It is not impossible that some equivalent existed to what is today called 'small-world' theory (Watts 1999; 2003). This suggests that we are separated by a short path of up to six contacts to anybody else, anywhere. The concept recognises that people live in social networks, for instance those in the past probably arising from a tribal grouping, or from being a member of the elite engaged in running a town council in Roman Britain. A feature of networks is known as clustering, the likelihood that people's friends will tend to know each other. What creates the small world effect is a combination of connectivity in society together with randomness arising from the arrival into a network of a newcomer, or a move by a network member to another such grouping elsewhere. It will be argued that both of these characteristics could have coincided with the development of Roman roads and the improved communication that these facilitated.

Duncan Watts (pers.comm.) agrees that the diffusion of ideas, norms, fashions etc. that is represented by the adoption of villas has relevance to his work. The tightly-knit ancestral and/or leadership affiliations to which the elite belonged would make it more likely that word-of-mouth recommendations would encourage people to want to consume in new ways. The process is described as 'social contagion' (Watts 2003: 240-1) and it is the randomness of connections, rather than the nature of the innovation that triggers the 'cascade' of communication that can arise. The irrational nature of the resulting diffusion is illustrated by the case of the seventeenth century Tulip 'Bubble' in Holland (ibid. 196-8). Perhaps the two apparent villa-building booms (Faulkner 2000: 71) that arose from the mid-second century and during the late-third century were an equivalent manifestation of small world mania, with the inter-connectedness of the elite serving to accelerate the transfer of concepts and wants. This at least makes it possible to question whether the economic rhythms in Roman Britain noted by Going (1992) should be discussed simply as cyclical (and in a sense, inevitable), or in terms of what Buchanan (2002: chapter 10) calls an 'idea virus' that reached its 'tipping point', or critical mass. It may be impossible to uncover the psychological reasons for these bursts of enthusiasm for villas, but it is not enough to discuss them purely in terms of economic growth because that perhaps was an effect, not the cause.

Learning to consume can be interpreted as a practical, but also a symbolic experience. New systems of meanings for material culture have to be introduced, recognised, internalised, negotiated, shared and ultimately agreed within the wider society. Archaeologists have applied anthropological insights to relate this acculturative process to the circumstances of Roman Britain, but not to contextualise it as consumer behaviour. A recent paper by Webster (2001) summarises three contrasting positions that typically are adopted. They are 'Romanization', or the emulation of Roman 'ways' as the basis for status and identity; 'resistance', which is recognised from evidence of the survival of indigenous cultural preferences; and 'creolization', or the syncretization of Roman and native practices, perhaps leading to equivocal outcomes.

An alternative typology is proposed within consumption studies (Wilk 1994: 113-4) as an improvement on existing anthropological models that seek to explain how meanings change within material culture. Wilk notes that the way people in society view goods can be labelled a symmetrical situation if there is consensus about the meanings of these, whether by those who do or don't consume them, or asymmetrical, if no such consensus exists. The latter case might arise because such products are new, or their meanings are in flux, or because those with differing understandings do not communicate. Wilk proposes that even within traditional societies the meanings of material culture would have been dynamic, and not static, and identifies five transformative situations that arise in society in a search for a symmetry of interpretations. These are: displacement (substituting an existing product with a new one); identification (linking the meanings of old and new products); promotion (applying new meanings to upgrade the product to a broader or higher category); appropriation (to limit consumption to restricted uses or users); and escalation (wherein extraneous issues complicate the disagreement over meanings). It is suggested here that this structured consumption approach to the manipulation of meanings offers a more nuanced way of applying the concept of creolization (above), which originated from the study of linguistics, as a formula for examining varying responses to material culture.

Finally, there may have been what today is called a 'country-of-origin' effect (Hong and Wyer 1989). It is possible that satisfying experiences with one imported product associated with Rome led to a positive judgement and increased receptivity towards others. The source of the object can become one of its significant attributes

alongside other perceived advantages. Whilst this judgement is complicated by the heterogeneous nature of 'Romanness' (Woolf 1998:7), the idea may offer an insight into why some tribal areas were apparently either more, or to a lesser extent, receptive to the idea of the villa, and why this could vary over time. An insight into this might come from comparative research, site-by-site, into the apparent country-of-origin of all possessions and the changing proportions of these over time.

3.3. Introducing fashion theory

Postmodern fashion theory has not been applied explicitly to villa evidence. Possibly the concept of fashion is considered to lack academic rigour or stylistic permanence (Niessen and Brydon 1998). It is a mistake to assume that fashion is superficial, incidental, limited only to clothing and decoration, and is a form of irrationality (Blumer 1969a: 275-6). A typical opinion in the context of Roman Britain may be that offered by Clarke (1998: 37) who, without noting the irony, says that a 'house was clearly a powerful tool of self-expression and should not be regarded as anything so frivolous as fashion'. In contrast, Cannon (1998: 24) argues for the universal applicability of fashion, noted 30,000 years ago in the manufacture of beads in the Upper Palaeolithic. An increase in early Aurignacian body ornamentation using standardised manufacturing techniques across a range of sites was marked both by resemblances and variations in designs, and is interpreted as early evolutionary evidence of deliberate personal definition and social display (White 1989: 385).

Fashion is understood as behaviour arising either from the psychological desire for differentiation in self identity, or from the wider stimulus in society of social comparison. In Roman studies the word is used frequently in a conversational and uncritical manner, for example, in references to changing colours of clothes (Liversidge 1973: 128); popular wall decorations (Alcock 1996: 70); the status bestowed through the adoption of Roman ways (Smith 1997: 279); conformity in villa typology (Wacher 2000: 51); or decisions to build in stone (Perring 2002: 37). Certainly archaeology has examined related topics such as cultural transmission (e.g. van der Leeuw and Torrence 1989) or the concept of creativity in past societies (e.g. Mithen 1998) but the starting point has not been to see the adoption of new types or new styles of possession as central to consumer behaviour. Illustrating the

implications of this, a paper on technology transfer in the Roman world was presented largely in terms of factors influencing production, not demand (Greene 1992).

In contrast, Solomon (2002: 503) summarises the behavioural science perspectives which explain the dynamics of fashion. It can be defined variously as a process affecting the social diffusion of cultural styles, as a shared code of symbolic meanings within society, or as a design currently in vogue. At one level it is an outcome of personal decisions, at the other, a reflection of societal values. Current explanations recognise strong psychological motives, with self-expressive fashions encoding biological desires for 'social approval, acceptance and individuality' (Finkelstein 1996: 8). A brief introduction to the relationship between fashion, consumption and identity provides a background to the examination of villa evidence. Two main areas for meaning negotiation arise: between the wider cultural environment and the processes of social psychology, and between a person's drive to conform, and wish to appear different. Literally dozens of models to explain fashion change have been proposed (Sproles 1985) and a number of these are introduced below in a case-study of mosaics.

3.3.1. Theories inadvertently used

Two such theories, both centred on status, are conjoined inadvertently by Romanists in villa studies. One is sociological, the so-called 'trickle-down' concept (Simmel 1957), which recognises the dual motives of fashion imitation by lower social groups copying those above, and differentiation, by those higher up seeking to preserve the social hierarchy by acquiring new status markers. The other is economic, the notion of conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1925), and proposes that it is fashionable to display wealth. These theories have been conflated (e.g. Millett 1990: 186-7; Perring 2002: 214-5) to explain the evidence for villa diffusion as an imitative process from the second century, and the concomitant decline over time in their standard size and relative status, but with a few contrasting sites maintaining their distinction by displaying significant investment. Millett applies trickle-down euphemisms like 'popularization' and 'devaluation', with villa building by 'more modest' owners, though with some becoming 'palatial residences'.

Trickle-down ideas are now criticised (e.g. Davis 1992:110-20). In reality the process is 'trickle-up', through imitation by those below, and fashion is not all status-driven. There can also be 'trickle-across', the horizontal spread of fashion within

and across a peer group (King 1963). The 'collective selection' theory (Blumer 1969a) suggests that fashion tastes arise through social interaction, and not class competitiveness. Elite differentiation occurs within, but does not cause, fashion change (ibid. 281), and others follow fashion because it is the fashion, not in response to elite prestige. Social interaction, gradual evolution from previous fashions and an apparent response to the 'spirit of the times' are explanations for the processes that take place (ibid. 283-5). The movement of fashion creates a uniformity in society that replaces the former restraint of custom, this detachment from the restrictions of the past making such previous conduct appear 'out-of-date' (ibid. 289).

3.3.2. *Psychological approaches*

Archaeologists could take more account of psychological approaches to fashion adoption including such personal characteristics as individuality, conformity, seeking of prestige, vanity, demonstration of creativity and the desire for uniqueness, etc. (Sproles 1985: 58). Such variables of personality are understood as traits, or enduring qualities of human behaviour, and this consideration is described below in relation to villas. Possibly relevant may be a study of uniqueness-seeking conduct (Snyder and Fromkin 1980) which recognises that possessions, especially those that are scarce, can be a medium for personal differentiation (ibid. 125). This self-expression still has to be socially acceptable behaviour, and striving for such individualism is strongest when perceived similarity in a society is strongest, and vice versa. An interesting possibility is that a name can be a potent attribute of uniqueness and the basis of distinct personal identity (ibid. 129), and this may prompt research, evidence permitting, comparing the consumption patterns on sites which reveal Roman names and those that do not. Tiles stamped with *tria nomina* at Piddington (Ward 1999: 60-1) may hint at a personality variable that contributed to aspects of the villa that could be described as unique (p213-4). Admittedly such interpretations are dependent on chance discoveries, but the approach may have relevance in individual contexts, as at Piddington.

3.3.3. *Implications*

Implications would arise if fashion sensitivities were to be detectable within Roman Britain. In particular the antithesis of fashion would be the absence of individuality (Gronow 1997: 81), but evidence of villa variability suggests that choice and 'personalization' may in fact be identifiable. If so, then it may be interpreted that

non-conforming individuals were not viewed as a threat to others in society, or at least were not strongly resisted (Cannon 1998: 25). What fashion theorists characterise as 'acceptable deviance' (Kaiser 1990: 476) was perhaps a feature of villa lifestyles. It is conceivable that such behaviour was even encouraged. It may then be possible to infer those historical circumstances arguably conducive to fashion change. These include (Stone 1990) a positive economic background, social mobility, mixing through travel, the impact of particular events, the fashion leadership effect of personalities, and technological changes. Implied also is the weakness of possible inhibiting influences such as entrenched cultural values and traditions, religious opposition or the repressive effect of sumptuary laws (ibid. 55-8).

3.4. The diffusion of innovations

A further consideration is to try to explain the differential take-up of the 'fashionable new ideas' which a villa represented, both chronologically and geographically, whilst acknowledging the incompleteness of evidence. In villa studies the prevailing explanation for their construction and improvement remains that of power, the desire (whether of a kin-group or an individual) to identify with Rome and maintain prestige (e.g. Smith 1997: 278-9, 300). Such reasoning may not be sufficient to account for what the evidence suggests was a more complex picture.

Explanations for the diffusion of innovations, expressed through fashion-driven consumer behaviour, can offer an additional discourse. Such studies (Rogers with Shoemaker 1971; Rogers 1995) recognise four considerations: the nature of the new idea; the means by which it is communicated; the dimension of time; and the type of society concerned. Distinction can be made between the symbolic and the practical dimensions to any innovation (Rogers with Shoemaker 1971: 21). Presumably over a period of three centuries the initial ideological meanings identifiable with Rome would have changed and the factor of novelty will have declined. Those circumstances that influence the speed of take-up of an idea (Rogers 1995: 16) are its qualities of 'greater relative advantage, compatibility, trialability, observability and less complexity'. Research shows that the objective appraisal of a new idea is less important to its acceptance than a subjective assessment from 'near peers' (ibid. 18), and the subsequent copying of their behaviour. Such information exchange must therefore place emphasis on the importance of the interpersonal

networks of the Roman elite, and probably of travel, particularly by road (chapter 5), whether to villas or towns (near or far) where the innovation could be discussed, viewed and sampled. Close peer relationships might explain villa patterning, whether as clusters, for example in the Upper Nene valley, or along the line of roads, as in Lincolnshire. These two cases are discussed below.

3.4.1. The trait of innovativeness

An additional determinant of the time taken for ideas to diffuse is the personality trait known as innovativeness that applies to some individuals (Hirschman 1980). Research today indicates that approximately 2.5% may be classified as ‘innovators’; a further 13.5% are ‘early adopters’; around two-thirds represent ‘the early or late majority’; with the balance seen as ‘laggards’ (Rogers 1995). Some may be considered ‘non-adopters’. Characteristics of innovators (ibid. 22) are their active interest in new things, widely-cast networks of social relationships, and ability to cope with risk. Additionally, and of particular interest to this study is a recognised link between adopting an innovation and seeking social status from so doing (ibid. 213-4). Such considerations must relate particularly to our contemporary world system, and reflect the influence of factors including education, trade, or communications etc. As there was clearly a differential rate at which innovations were taken up in ancient society, however, one potential variable could be differential human behaviour.

3.4.2. Novelty-seeking behaviour

Hirschman (1980: 284) distinguishes between inherent and actual novelty-seeking, with the latter manifested when an individual has to react to a new consumption situation, in turn frequently a response to new roles being performed (ibid. 289). Innovation-minded people are recognised as variety-seekers in their consumption behaviour, with their related personality traits likely to include extroversion, ability to handle complexity, creativity and open-mindedness (Hoyer and Ridgway 1984: 116). Motives that lead to such conduct include a desire for uniqueness, a high degree of curiosity, and a need to be exposed to risky or thrilling situations. The new repertoire of consumption opportunities associated with post-conquest Britain may therefore have released tendencies towards innovativeness in some people, particularly those most knowledgeable or experienced with the new products concerned. But it should not be concluded, as generalised archaeological accounts could make the mistake of

doing, that the Romano-British elite were equal as innovators, or that all innovators were necessarily members of the elite.

Finally, social structure provides a context in which diffusion takes place (Rogers 1995: 24-30). Characteristics include that society's receptivity to change, and the possible presence of those who influence opinion, shown typically to be people who are more cosmopolitan, socially important and open to new ideas. Influential, too, is the nature of decision-making and whether it is optional, consensual or dictatorial. Consumer studies conclude that those most likely to embrace an innovation, and be adventurous and take risks, are those categorised as the 'inner-directed' in the model of society proposed by Riesman (1950; and below).

Whilst cross-culturally such conclusions cannot be transferred simplistically to the circumstances of Roman Britain they at least offer scope to discuss villa divergence from a stereotype by increasing the repertoire of overlapping explanations. Such arguments may be used to understand better why some villas were constructed or embellished early, perhaps soon after the conquest; or earlier relative to others in an area; and also why there might be differential take-up of particular innovations, also over time and space. For example, in an area where villas are clustered together, such as Northamptonshire (chapter 5), and evidence permitting, it may become possible to prepare fashion life-cycle charts, or bell-shaped diffusion curves, that depict the speed of adoption of different amenities on a site-by-site basis, to be compared with others. This process is illustrated in Sproles and Burns (1994: 102-5). Such analysis will highlight the similarities and contrasts that are evident between villas in their acceptance of new ideas and thereby offer an insight into the changing attitudes of respective owners over time. This process will challenge a reductionist tendency merely to note the presence of 'Roman' amenities on a site without trying to explain why some of these might have been taken up much earlier or later than others on that site, or much earlier or later than on nearby sites, or elsewhere. Whilst such differential adoption is usually explained as a consequence of varying wealth, such fashion trend analysis offers scope to assess whether psychological considerations might have mattered more.

Because society today takes change for granted it is possible to overlook the psychological context in which novelty is experienced. It is now understood that once the basic human requirements of existence are met, people seek challenging stimulation in order to escape boredom through mental arousal (Scitovsky 1976: 31).

They desire the experiences of novelty and variety, for example through the acquisition of new possessions and possibly at increasing levels, in response to an inner drive to excite the central nervous system in the brain (Zaltman and Wallendorf 1983: 382-3). The pleasure-inducing process of novelty, demonstrated by research in psychology and neurophysiology (Bianchi 1998: 73), has been seen as stimulus-seeking behaviour that explains consumption. Excessive stimulation through novelty can, however, be 'bewildering' (ibid. 73), and learning to enjoy new things requires skill in consumption that arises from the prior recognition and appreciation of their potential to please (ibid. 74).

This quality of newness in a possession can be interpreted in three ways, whether as something recently made, newly improved or merely unfamiliar (Campbell 1992: 52). Three classes of novelty-aware consumer arise (ibid 55-6); the 'pristinian' who seeks a newly-created item, the 'technophile', who prefers an innovative dimension to a product, and the 'neophiliac', who opts for something different. It is a complexity that may make simple explanations for the spread of 'Roman' material culture before and after the conquest less tenable. Irrespective of any symbolic identification with Rome, the actual newness of imported items would have provided a neural stimulus. The post-conquest distribution of decorated samian ware may represent an illustration of this, with the South Gaulish pottery appearing widely and without apparent social exclusion (Willis 1997), and for instance it is found in eastern England on indigenous settlements, forts and at sites that were later to become villas (ibid. 42-6). This example may support the argument being made that people simply acquired a taste for novelty and the arousing stimulus that it engendered, with this then diffused through fashion selection. This combination of processes at least offers a powerful, if subliminal motive for the consumption of samian ware beyond the rational suggestions that the goods just chanced to be on offer or were in some practical sense advantageous to acquire (Freeman 1993: 441), or that this represented 'pottery as shopping' (Cooper 1996: 94).

Such a deconstruction of novelty, and a recognition of the pleasures associated with the newness of things, may therefore also inform villa studies. Future archaeological analysis may be able to take into account new findings (Hirschman and Stern 2001) that there is a genetic and neuropsychological basis to novelty-seeking behaviour, and in turn, compulsive consumption. It arises from biological variability in the creation and utilization of the neurotransmitter, dopamine, and

occurs when there is a deficiency in the brain. Such insights may contribute to an explanation as to why some villa households, possibly reflecting intergenerational transfer, appear to be more receptive to innovation over long periods of time, with examples possibly including Bancroft, Piddington and Winterton.

3.4.3. A fashion for older buildings?

Equally, the longevity of a building could have been value-laden, acquiring different fashion meanings as the Roman period evolved. A case-study (below) discusses the idea that older villa buildings may themselves have been revered. It is a consideration which certainly applies to 'period' houses today, and has led also to a fashion for modern properties to be built in a 'mock' historic style (Adonis and Pollard 1997: 194-5). This point may be illustrated using a taste theory identified for clothing (Laver 1937: 255), which classifies opinions toward fashions from a particular moment in time through to those a good deal older. The sequence of descriptions includes: smart (right now), dowdy (one year later), ridiculous (20 years), charming (70 years), romantic (100 years), and beautiful (150 years).

3.5. The changing role of possessions

Archaeologists suggest that villas served symbolically to enhance and express personal prestige, but do not explain how objects can achieve this. The key is to recognise that much of a person's relationship with goods is irrational (Belk 1991a). The notion of a reasoned and logical derivation of anticipated benefits arising from ownership is a myth. Instead the interaction is conditioned by personal moods and emotions and by reactions to others, with the resultant transformation of meanings to the owner a form of 'magic' (ibid. 17-8, 42). Dittmar (1992) notes that two consumer behaviour perspectives are possible, one which is centred on the individual, viewing possessions as part of the self (ibid. 41); and one which is socially constructed, recognising possessions as the symbolic basis of identity (ibid. 65).

3.5.1. The 'extended self'

The former, or 'extended self' argument (Belk 1988) is based on the premise that 'we are what we have' (ibid. 139) and can be applied also to places and experiences (ibid. 141). The trajectory of relationships with possessions can change during a life. A thing becomes 'incorporated' into the self in three ways: through control or ownership, by the act of its creation, or through an awareness and desire for it (ibid.

150). Understood psychologically as the investment of 'psychic energy' in an object (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:8), the construct of the 'extended self' might be discernible from archaeological evidence. One approach might be to assess possessions against a classification of alternative self-extension objectives: for example, how the artefact made possible an actual new role for the person, or other goals based on symbolic achievement, status or some talismanic purpose (Schiffman and Kanuk 2004: 146-7). Another function can be for objects to confer a sense of immortality. There can be a correlation between possessions, (and also places) and the ancestral self (Belk 1988: 148-9), a set of circumstances in which relics can preserve memories that are felt to enrich people's lives, and which today is described as 'nostalgic consumption' (Holbrook 1993). This might perhaps explain the discovery of late-first/early-second century glass bangles on much later Roman villa sites and which are often labelled keepsakes (e.g. Price and Cottam 1996: 101). Such behaviour may be understood more profoundly in consumption terms as the reconstruction of a sense of the past through 'ancestor worship' (Belk 1991a: 30). The 'extended self' argument could also be a rationale for continuity in the use of a location, for example at Piddington, where the site developed from c50BC to at least the early-fifth century.

Whilst such arguments would be challenged by Whitley (2002: 119) as unsubstantiated evidence of 'the omnipresent ancestor', the typical consumer's articulation of this psychographic variable is that things seemed better in the past than they do now. There is certainly much written evidence from Rome that suggests an emotive obsession within the city for places that evoked mythological or historical memories, whether generally of a rustic simplicity or for particular buildings, people and events (Edwards 1996: chapter 1). Chronological evidence for such nostalgia-proneness over time and space in Roman Britain may therefore offer a clue to wider and less welcome historical changes. A particular case may be Borough Hill, Daventry, where a villa, possibly dating from the first century, was sited within prehistoric earthworks (Botfield 1853). Such re-use of ancient monuments has been interpreted (e.g. Williams 1998: 77) in terms of ancestral, ritual or even supernatural practices and possibly this also underpinned tribal identity, perhaps embodying anti-Roman feelings. That the villa continued into the fourth century suggests the strong emotional attachment that characterises the 'extended self', the deliberate retention through architectural consumption of a space that evoked a cultural past and the

values it represented. The setting of Ditches villa in Gloucestershire within an Iron Age hillfort provides a further example of this phenomenon (Trow and James 1989: 85). Further insights from consumption psychology explaining attachment to possessions that evoke the past are the ability of these to convey a sotorial sense of protection and security, the status that can derive from links with significant ancestors and the proof they provide of origins (Belk 1991b: 124).

Emergent consumer attitudes might be the apparent strength of feeling that was directed towards thieves who stole cherished possessions and is reflected in Roman curse tablets inscribed on lead. Examples found in the sacred spring at the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath include oaths that record thefts of money, towels, cloaks, and jewellery (Tomlin 1988: 79-81). The intensity of such consumer attachment to objects is illustrated in the text of a curse from Bath which reads 'the person who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed .. let him .. spill his own blood into the vessel itself' (Tomlin 1985: 31). In Britain, a majority of curses focus on theft, an obsession that contrasts sharply with other parts of the classical world (Tomlin 1988: 60). This could also be evidence of 'favourite object attachment' (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988: 542-3) that can underpin personal expression and symbolise either an individual's association with or desire to be different from others in society. The idea that the possession of slaves can also be viewed as self-extension (Belk 1988: 156) would support the argument of Samson (1990a) that one function of villa enclosures was to control servants.

Whether in these cases the represented self is the individual, family, community or group (Belk 1988: 152) would require a more detailed archaeological analysis. Consumer theory at least offers a theoretical context in which to explain the desire for a sense of permanence and place and demonstrates how consumption could be used to make manifest such values.

3.5.2. Meaning transfer

Implicit in consumption studies is the movement of meanings between object and person (McCracken 1990: chapter 5), and such meanings can attach to the consumer, the product or be encoded within the wider culture of society. The model of meaning transfer recognises that consumer goods can be encoded with a cultural symbolism. When archaeologists interpret the take-up of Roman material culture as evidence of Romanization, they are in effect applying this consumption theory. Equally they are

implying, as this study argues, that people were re-constructing themselves personally and socially through the use of possessions. Methods of such meaning transfer in the modern world include advertising and the fashion system. It will be proposed below that word-of-mouth recommendation through elite reference groups, facilitated by easier travel by road, was an equivalent process in ancient society.

What makes this exchange of meanings possible is the action of consumer imagination, a practice by which possessions, and the symbols that they come to represent, are transformed in the mind into personal identities (Schau 2000: 53-4). Schau demonstrates that the phenomenon of imagination was recognised and discussed in the ancient world (ibid. 50-1).

There is a further requirement for the meanings that become inherent in consumer goods to be transferred to the consumer, and McCracken (ibid. 1990: 84-8) explains this in terms of four consumption processes, or 'rituals'. The ritual of 'gift exchange' derives its symbolism from the personal relationship with the giver; 'possession' rituals include such activities as showing off or personalising what is owned; the ritual of 'grooming' may be identified in the constant maintenance or freshening applied to a possession; and fourth, the 'divestment' ritual seeks to obliterate meanings associated with previous owners. The suggestion that each of these rituals may be observed at Piddington is discussed below.

Meaning within material culture can also vary according to context, whether that of the private perspective of the owner, or in the wider and public view of society (Richins 1994). As a result the value of possessions needs to be discussed precisely in such multi-dimensional terms, rather than be judged solely by their economic worth (ibid. 505). For example, private meanings can derive from use value, the pleasure provided, the social ties that are symbolised and the nuances of personal identity that are evoked (ibid. 507). Some objects carry a greater 'self-significance', 'me-ness' or 'possession attachment relationship' than others (Kleine et al. 1995), with such 'self-artefacts' possibly reflective of a particular life interlude. This can lead to such things being kept or displayed longer, or more carefully. An interesting concept for archaeologists to consider is a 'possession rating scale' (Richins 1994: 519) that considers the importance of objects to people in a ranking derived from criteria that include utilitarian, self-expressive, appearance-related, supportive of status, or spiritual. It is an approach proposed below in relation to mosaics. McCracken (1990) also recognises the motive of 'displaced meaning' by which

objects serve as a 'bridge' to an idealised existence, whether in the past or future, and a possible illustration of this idea will be suggested.

Some possessions attract an enduring 'involvement', or a strong sense of personal relevance or relationship with an owner or user, and these may have a greater role in defining identity (Belk 1995a: 71-2). High-involvement products (Blythe 1997: 138) are less important for their functionality and are associated instead with a person's goals or values. They are also central to lifestyle, reflecting the in-depth knowledge of consumers and their strong feelings about making the right decision. As an example, two different levels of such 'involvement' may be observable at Rudston where the poor quality of the Venus mosaic in Building 1 contrasts with the fine workmanship of the charioteer pavement in Building 8 (Neal and Cosh 2002: 11). Because the chronology of the structures is seen as different, the circumstances are suggestive of the contrasting attitudes of successive owners. It is possible that this psychological insight could offer relative dating 'evidence', albeit of a qualitative kind, to contribute to the discussion of phasing here as well as on other villas.

3.5.3. *Consumption constellations*

A more substantial clue to the manifestation of consumer behaviour on villas may be the construct of the 'consumption constellation' (Solomon and Englis 1996). It is viewed as a clustering of complementary products 'laden with symbolic meaning' and is used to mediate social comparison within a selected reference group, and convey acceptance of their values. Consumers learn which constellations are appropriate to a particular social category (ibid. 72-3), and which to avoid (ibid. 75). This is an expression of self-congruity, a process that seeks to match self-expectancy with self-image, with the change in perception of the self arising from the acquisition of appropriate possessions (Wright et al. 1992). Products which serve most effectively in such value-expressive ways are those that are 'conspicuous, unique, differentiated and high-cost' (ibid. 313), require careful selection, are used repeatedly, and have a strong image. Satisfactory self-definition is most likely to occur when people have as many goods that contribute to a desirable constellation as possible (ibid. 316). An example from the 1980s would be the much publicised association made between so-called 'Yuppies', BMW cars, Rolex watches and Bollinger champagne. Tacitus (*Agricola*. 21) appears to suggest that an equivalent combination

for an elite lifestyle in the first century comprised ‘temples, *fora* and comfortable houses .. the toga .. colonnades and warm baths and elegant banquets’.

Such integrated consumption behaviour may be apparent during the fourth century at Brantingham. Here the figurative mosaic in room 1 has been identified as the nine Muses (Ling 1991b: 156), and would have reflected the owner’s ‘social and cultural aspirations’. In a rare example, this room also featured wall- or ceiling plaster that related to the pavement, and which depicted a nimbed bust (Davey and Ling 1982: 87). This was the villa’s largest room, at 11.13m x 7.77m, and the mosaic is the biggest and considered the best in Yorkshire (Liversidge et al. 1973: 89-90). Painted plaster from the room (ibid. 101) featured the probably high status colour purple (see below). The painted woman appears to have parallels in the palace at Trier (ibid. 102). The room was also hypocausted. Another example where such product complementarity seems to occur may be Stanton Low, where the exceptional standards of construction and decoration of the Hadrianic bath-house (Building III) included rare heated ceilings (Woodfield with Johnson 1989: 156-9). A case-study below proposes that finds of window glass apparently associated with the more public rooms of a villa may also represent be illustrative of consumption congruence.

Evidence for product constellations would suggest consumer decision-making at a sophisticated level. This understanding may lead to the conclusion that where such decorative grouping appears to occur, then it is convincing affirmation of particularly high status. It serves to confirm self-congruity through symbolic consumption and is strongly suggestive of materialistic behaviour (Wright et al. 1992: 316). In such cases of integrated consumption, even the incomplete excavation of a villa could still reveal much about owner psychology.

3.5.4. *Socially shared meanings*

Shared public meanings reflect a social constructionist perspective, and arise through ‘symbolic interactionism’ in society (Dittmar 1992: 75; after Mead 1934). This proposes that within the structure provided by society, individuals are able to create personal identities through a self-reflexive process. Using possessions and their symbolic qualities, people make adjustments to the impressions they create as a reaction to the perceived perspective of others. Viewing society in terms of symbolic interaction also implies that a person has a self (Blumer 1969b: 79), and correspondingly can be the target of his or her own actions, and be self-guiding

through what he or she observes. Such responses, however, are not a reaction to an environment of physical or objective reality, but to symbolic cues arising from the social meanings that a person confers on the objects concerned (ibid. 80). Actions are therefore mediated mainly by symbols, the cultural meanings of which are shared in society. People therefore play roles (Solomon 1983), being able to predict the response of others within a culture and then to structure their own behaviour according to this. It is a process labelled the 'looking-glass self' (ibid. 321). Possessions serve as social stimuli within this reflexive performance. They are used to communicate symbolically in support of the role being played.

When archaeologists propose that villa ownership was expressive of status in the Roman world, then implicitly they are acknowledging and accepting the main tenets of symbolic interactionist theory. It is being accepted that villas were acquired primarily for their inherent symbolism of prestige and that owners were being evaluated by others through their possessions. It implies also that the owner was using the villa as a symbol in order to construct a personal identity. A further inference is that they are accepting that identity formation need not necessarily always have been 'ascribed', or pre-determined on the basis of birthright and kin, but could theoretically be 'achieved' using material culture (Dittmar 1992: 66). If so, then clearly there are implications for the study of social mobility and communication.

3.5.5. Social character

Another presumption concerns the nature of the elite. Riesman (1950) categorises the 'social character', or groups of 'ideal types', of three kinds of society, depending on its stage of development. These are the 'tradition-directed', who conform to rigid familial and ancestral values as the basis for their motives and behaviour; the 'inner-directed' who are independently-minded and display strong individuality; and those who are 'other-directed' and sensitive to the expectations and approval of contemporary others as the basis of their identity. In practice most societies contain a mix of people who reflect one of these three types as their dominant social character, whilst for any individual their prevailing type can also be situational and vary by circumstance.

Although Riesman's generalised argument may not contribute to an accurate historical interpretation of Roman society it at least provides a 'theoretical'

explanation of human behaviour that can be used to describe contrasting social types in a society and not one which relies on introspection. A problem arises because the proposition usually made by archaeologists is that villas were expressive of wealth and prestige within the Roman world. This clumsily groups all owners together in Riesman's socially sensitive category, and indeed this argument may be supported (Richins 1999: 95) by research that suggests the tendency for other-directedness to correlate with the trait of materialism and the use of possessions to reflect the self. On the other hand, such reductionism does not always fit with villa evidence, and examples follow where tradition- or inner-directed motives may also be arguable, in the former case reflecting resistance to change, in the latter serving to explain innovative behaviour. The Riesman model has been shown to have general relevance to consumption behaviour (Donnelly 1970: 111-3; Schewe 1973: 38).

Riesman (1950) noted that the dominance of other-directedness in society was already becoming apparent. This he related to the emergence, for economic reasons, of a new and larger middle class who are especially responsive to the signals of friends, peers and others. It is possible that post-war archaeologists who have interpreted villas as an expression of other-directed status display have unconsciously taken this standpoint because it is one with which they are familiar on a daily basis. In contrast, inner-directed people (who learn such independence in outlook from their 'elders' [ibid. 15]) develop an individualism that challenges conformity and responds to new circumstances. The characteristics of an inner-directed society include enhanced personal mobility, growth in affluence and increased production and consumption. Such a model might equally be taken to reflect the context of elite experience in Roman Britain but the consequence of this, a greater (though not complete) freedom of choice, is neither theorised nor allowed for by archaeologists. Research has been undertaken to measure a person's inner-other-directedness (e.g. Centers 1962; Kassarian 1962), and whilst such interview-based work has no place in Roman studies, there may be scope to interpret villa variability in terms of such a behavioural continuum.

3.5.6. Assuming selfhood

This section may be concluded with the observation that whether it is intended or not, Romanists who equate villa ownership with status are making a major assumption about selfhood. What is implied by such overt symbolic consumption is that within

Roman Britain, hitherto a strongly tribal society, there was taking place a changing orientation of values within the individualism-collectivism construct of cultures (Wong 1997). The new materialist tendency suggests a preference for possessions over people (ibid. 202). This further implies the evolution of the independent self, unique and self-determining, and contrasting with the interdependent self in which identity is embedded with the social group (Dittmar 1992: 188). Issues arising from this are discussed below but it can be noted that social psychologists (e.g. Baumeister 1987: 165) have hitherto not acknowledged the existence of selfhood prior to the late medieval period. Questioned on this view (Roy Baumeister pers.comm.), he responded: 'it would not surprise me if ancient Rome had some features of self that more closely resembled modern times than the Middle Ages. An advanced and overgrown self may be characteristic of the sort of advanced cultural development that was reached. The Dark Ages may have been a giant step backwards for selfhood'.

3.6. *Consumer behaviour and social comparison*

The Status Seekers (Packard 1965) attracted strong media coverage at the time, articulating the sociology of class as a phenomenon linked to material abundance. Chapter headings included '*Snob Appeal = Today's Home Sweet Home*', '*Choosing a Proper Address*' and '*Shopping for Status*'. Forty years later this message has been updated in *Luxury Fever* (Frank 1999). It draws attention to grandiose 'trophy homes', desirable properties in private locations which have a 'charm premium', and the strategy of demolishing perfectly good 'luxury houses to build even larger ones', such upgrades being known as 'scrapers'. Whilst these studies reflect the American experience the pattern is equally well understood in Britain where Prime Minister Thatcher in 1990 proposed that happiness largely arose from owning a house. There is a strong sense in this country that social class is made manifest by where you live (Adonis and Pollard 1997: 181), but our recognition today of a house as an investment contrasts with the situation after the Second World War when most property was rented (ibid. 194).

It would be a surprise if this relatively recent understanding of the house as a symbol of prestige had not unconsciously shaped academic attitudes towards Roman housing. For example, villas are described as the 'new' form of personal status

display in the countryside' (Millett 1990: 195), and this is a commonly used explanation: see Hingley (1989: 21, 47); Dark and Dark (1997: 2, 67, 71); Scott (2000: 169-70); Huskinson (2002: 129); and Sargent (2002: 221, 225). Clarke (1999: 119) suggests that late Roman spending on luxury residences was a 'triumph of the concept of private property'.

Already discussed is the inherent contradiction faced by archaeologists when presuming a ranked construction of status defined by privileged access to wealth and social honour, whilst at the same time accepting in an unqualified way that merely owning a villa could be expressive of status. To illustrate the potential confusion, status-seeking by an upwardly-mobile class of *nouveaux riches* could lead to their aspirational consumption of what they consider are the 'right' possessions out of 'status anxiety' (Solomon 1999: 67), and a deconstruction of likely motives is therefore essential.

A further danger is that of applying a westernised view of status. Our interpretation today in an individualistic society tends to equate social prestige with the admiration bestowed by others. In contrast, and using the example of staging a feast, in a more collectivist environment such honour (viewed more as a form of 'credit rating') arises from 'social value', or inferences about the host's ability to fund, arrange and have the influence to create such a show of success (Hayden 2001: 32).

Those discussing Roman Britain have not made it clear which interpretation of status they have taken. The traditional view, that villas reflect land ownership and wealth which was derived from *curial* power in a *civitas* capital, is proposed, for example by Millett (1990: 98, 193-5), Scott (2000: 77-8), and (making assumptions about the status of *Durobrivae*), by Upex (2001: 89). Salway (1993: 413-4) acknowledges that such rich individuals might not live locally, or even in Britain. Faulkner (2000: 135), possibly affected by late-twentieth century media characterisation of greed, talks of three grades of elite: 'high powered officials with fat-cat salaries, expense accounts, perks and bonuses .. solid gentry of secure status but only local repute .. and decayed gentlemen struggling to maintain themselves.' Such examples suggest that the word status is being too loosely applied. In contrast, a modern consumer behaviour approach offers a more fine-grained perspective.

3.6.1. *Status in the Roman world*

Status was a concept that was easily understood amongst the aristocratic echelon in Rome: the essential criterion was the perception of honour. This distinction arose from coming from the right family in the right town who had acquired the right kind of wealth (ideally from ownership of land), from having had a cultured upbringing, and also from having the necessary supporting accoutrements, such as a grand house, slaves, and a following of clients (Lendon 1997: 36-7). Literary sources and archaeological evidence in Roman Italy testify to the hierarchical class structure and reality of social inequalities (Finley 1979; Alföldy 1984), but Alföldy notes that stratification in society was less complex in northerly provinces like Britain because urban development was less marked (*ibid.* 104-5). On the other hand there could be variable considerations like patronage, privilege, imperial favour (for a few), upward mobility (to a degree) and, after AD 212, the empire-wide extension of citizenship by the emperor Caracalla (Hope 2000: 131).

It was also possible for a desired image, projected through status symbols, to count in some circumstances for more than real status (*ibid.* 149). This might contribute, in an increasingly differentiated society, to 'status dissonance' (Hopkins 1978: 106), an acknowledgement of the multi-dimensionality of status. A person could be ranked highly by one measure, such as education or wealth, but lowly on another, such as birth or social acceptability. Based on detailed study of the unique records arising from preservation in Pompeii, Jongman (1988) notes that to be freeborn was the key to true respectability. Although there were limits to social climbing, wealth was an essential resource and became more influential over time if it was invested for the good of the community (*ibid.* 262-3).

Opinions tend to become polarised. MacMullen (1974: chapter 4) sees 'class' as essentially fixed in the Roman world because in reality the advantages of inheritance, land, power and money went together and the scope to become rich through enterprise was limited. This ensured that inequalities persisted. A contrasting view is taken by Haley (2003) in a study of Roman Baetica through until the late-second century. He recognises (and in some cases also names) a 'middle stratum', (though not a middle class) arising from social mobility, that was supported by the productivity of the economy and per capita income growth. Among these were some who were responsible for a building 'boom' of Roman-style properties in the countryside (*ibid.* 188). They included freedmen engaged in trade and mining. It is an important theoretical argument by Haley that not all chose to become members of

town councils but could nevertheless still display their social ambition through ownership of rural property.

In its implication that a class of owners of Romanized country residences could exist outside those traditionally involved in administration this position is similar to a pattern suggested for Picardy in Gaul (Woolf 1998: 163-4). It is a region in which over 1000 probable villas have been noted, again representing far more than could be associated with local government, and the circumstances suggest the existence of two classes of owner, the rich (with the grandest villas) and the modestly well to do.

3.6.2. Insights from status theory

Reinhold (1971) has demonstrated how deception was attempted over a period of many centuries in the Roman world in order to blur distinctions of status. Examples could be the unauthorized occupation of seats at the theatre, ostentatious spending, the display of fake antiques or jewels and later the spurious take-up of titles and insignia. This is a scenario that has been addressed in consumption studies. It occurs because a status symbol can convey both categorical criteria of social position but also expressive values, and such signification can be copied and be 'fraudulent' (Goffman 1951: 296).

In response to such 'counterfeiting' there is a need for 'symbolic correctives' (McCracken 1990: 32-3). One answer (introduced above) is to consume interrelated products which convey 'mutuality' (ibid. 121), a harmony of status messages which arises from culturally-acknowledged constellations of possessions. It is a unity that McCracken (ibid. 119) has labelled the 'Diderot Effect' after the eighteenth century French philosopher who was given a new dressing gown so out of place with his present lifestyle that it led him in stages completely to transform his hitherto shabby study. Goffman (1951: 297-301) suggests that doubtful claims to status can be reduced using possessions which symbolise wealth, but also by observing a person's cultivated tastes, manner and etiquette. Objects in limited supply, whether naturally scarce or no longer made, or that cost a great deal to create or have been associated with a celebrated individual, are other examples of 'restrictive' devices to reduce status misrepresentation.

Further complexities arise from generational change within a family, gender implications, the underlying subjectivity inherent in status positioning, the possible substitution of status symbols over time, and knowing how intended audiences might

react to them. If the consumer is already a member of the in-group whose approval is sought, there is less dependence on stereotypical possessions to achieve this (Solomon and Englis 1996: 71), but the contrasting concept of 'compensatory symbolism' by newcomers to a status group could have a bearing on villa variability. Acquisitions that may be interpreted as publicly conspicuous – through their visibility in society, newness, luxury or other status-embellishing qualities – are the most likely to be influenced by considerations of peer-group evaluation (Schiffman and Kanuk 2004: 333).

Over time there can be a 'career' cycle for status symbols (Solomon 1999: 78-9) with some obsolescent, others outmoded, some in passage, a few reviving, and others avoided altogether or mocked through parody display. Some possessions achieve status simply because they have not been used. There is also the phenomenon of 'stealth wealth', the deliberate shunning of symbols of conspicuous consumption because these are more commonly identified with those new to wealth (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 169). Those uninterested in status display use other symbols to communicate other values (ibid. 170). Also status can be contextualised as only one of eight types of value which consumers seek, alongside the experiences of efficiency, excellence, play, aesthetics, ethics, esteem and spirituality (Holbrook 1999: 12).

An example can be offered from Roman Britain to illustrate the interpretative difficulties that can arise should the concept of the status symbol be applied too generally. Archaeologists propose (above) that with time it became possible for those further down the social scale (and by implication, less wealthy) to acquire a villa, which was consequently smaller in scale than those built in earlier centuries. Alternatively, a more demanding deconstruction of the components of a status symbol recognises two pre-conditions: it should be not just socially sought-after, but must also be scarce (Blumberg 1974: 481). Some objects become too widely available to serve effectively any longer as a 'badge of distinction' (ibid. 482). A contrasting explanation for the declining size of some villas developed during the fourth century therefore suggests that this particular medium for displaying wealth no longer conveyed the social importance that it once had. In such circumstances perhaps it was not the variable of rank or affluence that accounted for smaller villas but instead their reduced level of social desirability. Such a model might also explain why it is sometimes noted that the standards of wall painting had declined in some

areas by the fourth century (Morgan 1992: 86), as well as for preparing mosaics (Neal and Cosh 2002: 21). Perhaps this situation arose not because the owners were less affluent, or for the reason that craft skills were poorer, but as a consequence of the growing number of villas which made architectural and decorative consumption a less compelling expression of prestige. This might therefore have been a time when a proportion of the elite displayed incomplete status crystallisation (Lanski 1954). This expression of inconsistency in the definition of status recognises that people can rate highly on one index of status, but not on others. It is possible that birth, ancestry and leadership roles still counted highly in the fourth century within the acknowledged hierarchy of status markers, but villa ownership and embellishment perhaps less so. The implication is that status criteria were no longer being so tightly defined.

3.6.3. Reference group behaviour

Such complexity in the interpretation of status presents an argument for archaeologists to consider a more analytical approach to the question of social affiliation. An alternative and potentially more focused framework derives from social comparison theory and examines the significance of the particular reference groups to whom status display is being directed. Possibly there has been an over-reliance on historical sources for information about Roman society and insufficient account taken of the actual villa evidence.

Reference groups are defined as ‘persons, groups and institutions whom one looks up to for guidance for one’s own behaviour and values’ (Sheth et al. 1999: 161). They can be defined by purpose, degree of involvement and the nature of the interaction (Walters 1978: 410-3) and can affect what is acquired and the motives for having particular possessions. This arises because consumers make particular purchases specifically in order to seek the approval of the reference group, to join it, and to achieve equivalent status to those who already belong. It should be pointed out that in society today many people mistakenly deny that they are influenced by others, an orientation known as the ‘illusion of personal invulnerability’ (Arnould et al. 2002: 540).

Recognised modes of reference group influence and power are reward (whether material or psychological), social coercion, cultural identification, social comparison, or the impact of expertise (Runyon 1980: 141-3). Varying degrees of such involvement are categorised as superficial compliance, identification with the

reference group, or most transforming of a person's behaviour, the internalisation of the new values, beliefs and patterns of conduct (Antonides and Van Raaij 1998: 338-9). Whilst such influence, which is known as 'value expressive' (Arnould et al. 2002: 545), implies a wish for psychological association with socially valued others, the process also serves privately to bolster self-esteem and self-perception.

Comparison groups can be categorised (Blythe 1997: 99-102) as 'primary' (the day-to-day emotional influence of family and neighbours), 'secondary' (distant kin, work-related or special interest groups), or 'aspirational' (a higher status group whose membership is sought). Further classifications can be negative or 'disassociative' groups (those whose influence it is considered important to avoid), the 'formal' group (a specific membership structure), the 'informal' group (a circle of friends) and 'automatic' groups (involuntary association through age, sex, education or cultural background). People can be members of several such groupings that overlap. It can be envisaged in the Roman world that some reference groups were both socially and geographically distant, involving an elite living in other parts of the province, in other provinces, or in Italy. This need not make such perceived influence any less strong.

A particular consideration is whether possessions are intended for public or private use, and as 'luxuries' or 'necessities' (Bearden and Etzel 1982), with reference group influence strongest for costly items consumed in a public context (ibid. 185). Other circumstances where interpersonal pressure has most impact occur when the particular product is innovative or perceived to be a social or financial risk (Dubois 2000: 143). Just as the strength of reference group influence varies by product, so also is it possible for people to vary in their resistance to peer pressures and perhaps in some cases the variability that characterises villas is indicative of this personal opposition. Factors encouraging such independent behaviour include the level of conflict with the person's own attitudes, his or her greater or lesser degree of commitment to the group and also the value that is placed on maintaining individuality (Williams 2002: 126). It could therefore even be arguable that any freedom of choice suggested by the diversity of amenities that is reflected in the villa record is in fact a measure of the 'influenceability' of the owner or owners, or the degree to which they do or do not conform to the views of others (Dubois 2000: 148). Actual consumer behaviour is a good guide to the strength of group pressures to comply (Venkatesan 1966: 387).

3.6.4. *The medium of taste*

Aesthetic and intellectual taste is one medium of communication within elite reference networks that has received attention by Romanists. Shared cultural knowledge, or *paideia*, was both a mark of refinement and a qualification for power in the ancient world among a very select and privileged elite (Brown 1992: chapter 2). A classical education was a status symbol that could therefore limit social mobility (ibid. 39). This sense that cultivated behaviour mattered has appealed particularly to those who specialise in the art history of mosaics and who identify mythological scenes and/or the use of Latin or Greek text as an expression of prestige through erudition. An example is Henig (2002) whose chapter 4 is titled *Paideia: the making of a gentleman*. In this study region, the Bellerophon mosaic at Croughton (Neal and Cosh 2002: 235) is expressive of this argument, as is the Orpheus mosaic at Winterton (ibid 201-5).

This interpretation has a parallel in consumption studies, notably in the work of French philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu. His study of the basis of taste in society, (*Distinction* 1984), recognises motives to accumulate economic capital (wealth), social capital (relationships and networks), and cultural capital (etiquette, learning, upbringing). These clearly are the key dimensions of *paideia*, noted above. Bourdieu further argues that a fourth category of ‘symbolic capital’ emerges from these three and may be defined as status. But as has been pointed out, material culture can be used deceptively to create false impressions. Perhaps this intended duplicity is the explanation for the decision to acquire mosaics that theoretically should convey erudition but where the poor execution belies the owners’ supposed taste. An example might be Whittlebury (Neal and Cosh 2002: 264). The motive might also be recognised in the pretentious use of a finely worked mosaic in an otherwise modest environment, for example at Drayton II (ibid. 78).

Also to be taken into account is that aesthetic preference may, to some extent, be related to personality variables (Furnham and Heaven 1999: 265-8; and below).

3.7. *Consumer decisions by individual villa owners*

Consumption is discussed increasingly in terms of psychology (e.g. Lunt 1995), a discourse which recognises an engagement between material culture and personal

behaviour. Evidence exists (*ibid.* 249) which links variables like personality traits and inner values to decisions to choose possessions that convey either social identity (i.e. status) or self identity. The possible relevance of such personal influence is discussed only rarely in studies of Roman housing (e.g. Dunbabin 1999a: 319-23; Ellis 2000: 1, 6, 9, 112; Wachter 2000: 51; Perring 2002: 6), and then in terms which are descriptive and unchallenging, rather than theoretical. For example, Berry (1951: 30) observes 'local experiments' in housing by non-confirming 'individualists' and Branigan (1982: 83) refers to the 'changing whims and fortunes of the owners', and also (1994: 15) to the 'Romanisation (*sic*) of the individual'. More recently, King (2004: 362) acknowledges the potential for an engagement between the influence of 'nuances of personal choice versus social expectation', but this is not examined. A clue to the possibility that there could be such a personal influence on buildings is offered by The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 5.6). He writes, in relation to his Tuscan villa, 'I have been indulging the love I have for all the places I have largely laid out myself, or where I have perfected an earlier design'.

Archaeologists have instead concentrated on interpreting the wider social context, a villa providing the setting for those activities related to the exercise and receipt of patronage and favour in an environment in which the elite could meet to discuss shared intellectual and cultural interests. Asked whether such practice provided scope for individuality, Dominic Perring (*pers.comm.*) suggests that behavioural variation was possible but would have been constrained by social rules. He says that it was a strategic response to the processes associated with the workings of patronage rather than being a reflection of consumer decision-making as such. Whilst at least this comment notes the likelihood of motives that would explain variety, it leaves open the question of how such individual responses should be problematized.

The relationship between psychology, self and consumption is complex, even in today's terms, and is obviously more so when we attempt to project such understandings onto the past. In order to simplify the argument that is introduced here, discussion will be limited to three broad determinants of consumer behaviour at the individual level, namely those of motivation (or needs), trait theory (or personality), and psychographics (or values and self-concept). This is an approach that draws from the framework adopted broadly by business manuals on consumption (e.g. Sheth et al. 1999: chapters 7 and 10; Solomon 2002: chapters 4-6), but for want

of space excluded here is the consideration of issues like ethnicity, gender, age or the formation of attitudes. The topics selected, however, contribute sufficiently to a model of personality to allow this section to be considered within what is called the 'person-situation controversy' (Pervin 2003: 58-61). This considers the degree to which psychology can underpin personal discrimination and so override or shape the structured environmental context in which someone exists.

3.7.1. Needs

A philosophical dimension to consumer behaviour in general terms is to distinguish human needs from wants. Needs are largely functional, and are prompted by physiology, personal characteristics and environmental circumstances; they contrast with wants which deliver psychological and social benefits, are termed value-expressive and include status goals, pleasures and self-esteem (Sheth et al. 1999: 41-8). Wants are influenced by wealth, reference groups and cultural context. It is not intended here to examine how specific needs and wants evolve in society over time (for an introduction to which, see Thomson 1987; Berry 1994: chapter 7), nor to discuss the criticisms of the moralising writers in the ancient world which suggest that the distinction between a necessity and a luxury was clearly understood (for an introduction to which, see Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 85-92; 1994: 143-5).

Several models of human needs are recognised by consumer behaviourists as having probable universality and general validity, whilst allowing for variations in culture, person and historical period. It is proposed that intuitively such theories demonstrate the potential for a more complex range of motives to have influenced the Roman elite beyond the frequently-applied but limited and reductionist concept of power linked with status.

Most commonly discussed is the five-stage hierarchy of basic needs devised by psychologist Abraham Maslow (1954). Maslow's phased sequence of what usually are unconscious motivations (ibid. 54), rises from level one which is survival, to concerns about security and up to a social requirement for belonging. The fourth tier focuses on 'esteem', with these ego-needs including the 'desire for reputation or prestige, status, fame and glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity or appreciation' (ibid.45). The highest level, or need for self-actualization, to be self-fulfilled, acknowledges the importance of aesthetic and intellectual values, personal development and involvement with greater ideals like benefaction.

This model is still applied in consumer studies, for example, by Csikszentmihalyi (2000) who adds to Maslow's suggested existential drives a further dimension of 'experiential rewards'. These reflect the temporary mood enhancement that arises from consuming (ibid. 270). A further suggestion is made that the Maslowian model could provide a context in which a value could be placed on consumer behaviour by determining what resources were used, and in what proportions, to meet each respective level of needs (ibid. 269). For this idea to be applied to Roman archaeology, there would first have to be broad agreement as to what elements within a villa owed to each respective level of need. A simplified version might make villa comparisons possible by quantifying the percentage allocation of resources that was used to convey only the level four desire for status. Such an approach could be integrated with the 'costing' formula.

Another and more specific taxonomy of human drives is that of psychologist Henry Murray (1938). His classification of mental or 'psychogenic' needs features several linked to 'inanimate objects' (e.g. acquiring, conserving, retaining and building things); some identifiable with ambition (e.g. achieving, being recognised and being exhibitionistic); and others associated with power (e.g. dominating others, imitating them or seeking differentiation and uniqueness). Further examples are a liking for thinking and a preference for order and neatness. A third interpretation of consumption motives, that of the psychoanalyst Ernest Dichter (1964), places more emphasis on subconscious meanings, with examples including mastery of environment, status, social acceptance, rewards and individuality. In the case of a home ('the velvet-lined cave'), Dichter suggests that people like to make slight changes that 'suit their needs and personalities' (ibid. 140).

Such concepts can be taken into account within archaeology. It is acknowledged that a house (Lang, below) as with many consumer products (Solomon and Rabolt 2004: 117), could theoretically be symbolic of the whole range of Maslow's existential needs, and typically higher-level needs become dominant as each lower-order need is met. Romanists have indirectly discussed such issues, for example in terms of villa lifestyles (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1999), household relationships (e.g. Smith 1997; Clarke 1998), status (e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 12, 147, 154) or self-actualisation (e.g. Perring 2002: 133-9, on Gnostic beliefs). Most recent work, however, has tended to explain the villa phenomenon simply as the medium for manifesting prestige and status. Unintentionally, or at least non-

explicitly, this links interpretation to the fourth level of needs, for self-esteem. A new environment-behaviour approach specifically applies Maslow's model to architectural consumption (Lang 2000: 86-93) with level four needs translated functionally through the medium of a house as a 'sense of place', 'personalization', and the relevance of 'material goods' to the owner expressed through the built environment (ibid. 88). The issues arising from this will be discussed.

This section concludes by acknowledging that there is little empirical evidence that verifies the detail of theories of universal needs. Maslow's arguments are nevertheless classified today as having high internal consistency, and strong functional significance and also moderate comprehensiveness (Furnham and Heaven 1999: 19). A broad conclusion is that such motives do exist, vary by individual and by culture, are a distinct unit of personality and that research must continue (Pervin 2003: 137-42). Certainly these theories continue to be cited in consumer manuals (e.g. Solomon and Rabolt 2004: 117-8), whilst modern marketing campaigns appeal directly to needs identified by Maslow and Murray (Arnould et al. 2002: 387-9).

3.7.2. Trait theory

Personality is now seen as an important determinant of consumer decision-making; it was also recognised in the ancient world as an influence on general behaviour (Bennett and Kassarian 1972: 65-6). The case is quoted of Hippocrates, who lived in the fifth to fourth centuries BC in Greece, who related variations in the health, character and conduct of men to fluids, or humours, that circulated around a person. This humour theory was adopted in Rome and in the Roman world in the second century AD by Galen of Pergamum in Asia Minor, and in some respects has anticipated modern analysis of several fundamental personality traits (Stelmack and Stalikas 1991: 263). An introduction to the views of Galen on differing psychological types can be found in Siegel (1973).

Today, personality is defined as those 'inner psychological characteristics that both determine and reflect how a person responds to his or her environment' (Schiffman and Kanuk 2004: 120). It is not people's tastes that vary, but their personalities (Scitovsky 1976: 27). Consumer texts summarise the Freudian, Jungian and other psychoanalytic theories of personality (e.g. Engel et al. 1995: 434; Foxall and Goldsmith 1994: 155-9; Sheth et al. 1999: 237-8; Solomon 2002: 168-9) but a more specific approach, known as trait theory, potentially offers more quantifiable

insights into consumption-related behaviour. Traits are understood as broadly stable but varying personality characteristics that influence our behaviour. People can be classified by the degree to which they possess such differences (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 305).

The basis of trait theory is that it contradicts any sense of situational determinism and regards personality as independent of situations, whether a person's social environment or physical surroundings (Bechtel 1997: 549). On the other hand specialists accept neither of the extremes of pure 'traitism' or pure 'situationism' (e.g. Clarke and Hoyle 1988: 133). Conduct is seen to arise from engagement between personal characteristics and cultural context, with the interaction between these serving as the third variable. The conclusion drawn by Clarke and Hoyle is that social factors are of superficial interest and that two-thirds of individual variance can be explained by the primacy of psychological or neuroscientific considerations. On the other hand the so-called 'person-situation controversy' continues (Pervin 2003: 58-68). Romanists have tended to explain the phenomenon of villas as an outcome largely of social circumstances, and have not discussed the role of personal differences. The so-called 'PxS debate' is too complex to discuss here, but the possibilities that trait theories offer for archaeology through the insights they bring into consumer behaviour can be outlined. A review of the evidence for the effect of personality on consumption is offered by Furnham and Heaven (1999: chapter 9). An introduction to the influence of the brain and biology on identity and the relevance of this to consumption is available in Desmond (2003: 227-36).

The focus of this thesis was discussed with Professor Adrian Furnham in person. He commented, 'personality is deep-seated and empirical evidence shows that different types of people have systematic preferences which relate to all aspects of their lives – what they eat, how they dress, and the way they arrange their environment. It has always been this way.' Furnham's Ph.D. looked at how to apportion variance to personality as opposed to the influence of the wider socio-cultural and economic context. The opinion he holds today is that around a fifth to a quarter of differences in architectural consumption are attributable to the individual difference factors of personality and ability (pers.comm.).

Personality traits are now embraced within what is called the Five-Factor Model (FFM), namely neuroticism, extroversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness (McCrae and Costa 1999). Traits seem to have

genetic or biological origins and appear to be universal in all cultures (ibid. 144-6; Matthews and Deary 1998: 69), unlike personal adaptations, such as attitudes, roles and relationships which are externally influenced to help people fit into their social context. People with varying traits approach issues such as survival, making friendships and alliances, or competitive situations in different ways. Examples of contextualised traits are vanity, which is classified as low in modesty, and a facet of agreeableness, whilst openness to innovation is part of openness to experience.

Recent research (Mooradian and Olver 1996) suggests that consumption behaviour linked to extroversion reflects 'social, communication, peer group and status motives', whilst 'open' individuals are 'intellectually and aesthetically curious' (ibid. 585). Earlier work in environmental psychology shows that extroversion can be correlated with a person's general level of arousal and that people who seek high arousal respond particularly to 'the arousing quality of the environment' (Mehrabian and Russell 1974: 30). Dimensions to extroversion can include novelty- and excitement-seeking, thrill- and adventure-seeking and monotony avoidance. A more nuanced interpretation of FFM offers synonyms for extroversion that include terms like assertion, dominance, courage, ambition, enterprise and pride (Goldberg 1990). Such a connection, if accepted, introduces an issue of cause and effect: in discussing a villa landscape and the variations in grandeur of the houses of the elite, are we observing solely the scale differences in their degree of wealth and dominance or in addition the contrasting levels of extroversion of the individuals (and successive generations) concerned? This issue can be considered from a step further back by noting neurobiological research that links extrovert behaviour to individual variations in dopamine transmission to the brain (Depue and Collins 1999). It is an issue that could have played a part in the past. Asked to comment within the context of this research, Richard Depue (pers.comm.) wrote, 'dopamine is ancient and would have existed in the ancient world'.

New research suggests that the heritability of each of the Big Five personality traits is different. The two that are the most genetically transferable (Hirschman and Stern 2001: 403 and Table I) are extroversion (typically a person who is 'outgoing .. enjoys leadership roles') and openness to experience ('open to novel experiences and stimuli'). Intuitively it could be argued that such characteristics may have been exhibited by the types of people who might have lived in villas. A further insight arises from a paper presented by Roy Baumeister to the British Psychological Society

and quoted in the *Daily Telegraph* (15.03.02). It notes that those characterised by the trait of narcissism exploit opportunities to show off, display their superiority and acquire glory, whilst admitting that they like to start new fashions and fads.

The idea of evaluating variations in personality traits as the basis for interpreting patterns in the past and analysing historical figures is already discussed by 'psychohistorians' (McCrae 1996: 334). The author therefore decided to put this aspect of this thesis to a number of academics who specialise in trait psychology. Robert McCrae (pers.comm.), commented, 'I have no doubt that the Romans had personality traits that could be aptly described by the FFM. I would not be surprised if these traits were sometimes expressed in the construction and embellishment of villas.' Gerry Matthews (pers.comm.) said, 'it is almost certain that the major basic personality traits such as the Big Five existed 2000 years ago – for one thing, they are described by classical writers.' Ian Deary (pers.comm.) answered, 'the FFM, or something like it, has been replicated in many countries. I find it hard to believe that the structure of personality differences would have been much different 2000 years ago.' Sam Gosling (pers.comm.) replied, 'there is evidence for these traits in several non-human species, suggesting the traits have been around for a very long time. Of course it is likely that they would be manifested in different ways, such as chariot racing instead of free-fall parachuting'. It is possibly the case that traits have emerged over time to help man solve evolutionary challenges (Pervin 2003: 53).

Such insights into contrasting personality types could lead to a more nuanced and less introspective interpretation of sudden changes on villas. An example may be Winterton (Stead 1976), where the late-second century transformation from a native architectural tradition to 'ultra-modern villa' (ibid. 83) is viewed as the work of a new architect and possibly a new householder. The latter might be explained by the arrival of a person who was characterised by the trait of materialism (Mowen 2001: 106), and this might be seen as the explanation for a sudden new attachment to possessions. The supporting motives that underpin this self-concept can be the desire for achievement, competitiveness and a preference for innovative products, but can also include meanness (known as 'tightwadism'). Intriguingly, Winterton is one of the largest villas in the north, and provides examples of the early use of mosaics, and the use of painted wall-plaster in a high proportion of rooms in all the main buildings (Liversidge 1976: 272-3; 281). On the other hand, despite its manifest overall wealth the site provides little evidence for the use of expensive-to-operate hypocausts. This



led the excavator to comment that there must have been plenty of braziers (Stead 1976:91). Further applications of trait theories to our understanding of villas follow below. Future work on literary sources could consider the presence and frequency of use of personality-related words in self- or peer descriptions in Latin in order to assess their correspondence to the FFM (cf Goldberg 1990).

In conclusion it can be acknowledged that linking traits to consumption behaviour is not an exact process, partly because measurement is complex and so many other factors can also apply (Furnham and Heaven 1999: 274-5). Two examples that reflect the continuing academic debate are Mowen (2001) who distinguishes between 'surface, situational, compound and elemental traits' (ibid. 103-4), and Baumgartner (2002), who proposes that traits should be examined alongside 'personal motivations' and 'life narratives'. On the other hand, global business advisors such as SRI Consulting underpin their analysis of market segments using trait theories (www.sric-bi.com/VALS/types).

3.7.3. *Values*

The intention was signalled above that this thesis would avoid discussion of the acculturative meta-model known as 'Romanization', preferring to focus instead on the idea that the agency and choice of individual consumers can be recognised in Roman Britain. This can be contextualised at two levels within the discipline understood as cross-cultural psychology (e.g. Williams et al. 1998). To what degree can the dominant culture at a given time be labelled 'individualistic' or 'collectivistic' (I/C), and what were the value priorities inherent within individuals? There is an overlap arising from the personality variable called idiocentrism/allocentrism that corresponds to individualism/collectivism. For the purposes of this section those under consideration will be the elite.

Two specialists in these respective fields are Harry Triandis (I/C) and Shalom Schwartz (value hierarchies). Both were consulted on the possible relevance of their work to the past. Harry Triandis (pers.comm.) commented, 'in all cultures there are idiocentrics and allocentrics, but there are more idiocentrics in individualist than in collectivist cultures. It is very reasonable to think that the Romans had the same pattern and there is no doubt that there were idiocentrics in the ancient world'. Shalom Schwartz (pers.comm.) wrote, 'in my view there is a near-universal set of value dimensions that are meaningful to people and on which they vary. Whilst I

have never addressed the question of whether the 10 core values that I recognise were present in earlier societies, my guess is that with one exception they were. Human nature and basic social structure and interaction have probably been much the same for millennia.' These themes can only be introduced here but may have a bearing on future archaeological analysis of attitudes towards the consumption of material culture.

Individualism-Collectivism

Briefly, Triandis (1995: 43-4) notes four universal characteristics of the I/C construct: the features that are emphasised in a collectivist culture are the interdependence of the self, an alignment between personal and communal goals, the obligations and duties of social behaviour, and the importance of maintaining relationships, whether useful or not; in an individualistic society the equivalent focus is on the independent self, the priority of personal goals and personal needs, and on developing relationships where advantages can be recognised.

In each type of society the self can be characterised as having vertical or horizontal components (ibid. 44-6): in a collectivist culture these are classified as being dutiful and co-operative, respectively; but as being achievement-oriented and unique in an individualistic culture. Whether a society is more or less individualistic or collectivist is seen as an outcome of two syndromes (ibid. 52). One is 'tightness' (consensus about norms and behaviour and the unacceptability of exceptions) versus 'looseness' (multiple norms and roles); the other is cultural complexity versus simplicity.

Although work on these societal constructs is inevitably modern, Triandis quotes research (ibid. 95) that suggests narcissistic individualism existed in ancient Greece. A pre-disposition towards individualism in a person is a feature of higher classes (ibid. 62), characteristics of whom can be that they derive an identity from possessions (ibid. 71), and the greater emphasis they place on personal privacy (ibid. 76). Idiocentric types typically are dominant personalities (ibid. 78). Factors encouraging a transition from a collectivist to an individualistic culture are increases in urbanism, wealth, social mobility and travel (ibid. 83), as well as greater cultural heterogeneity (ibid. 100). The process of inter-group acculturation can also be labelled collective or individual, with changes liable to affect everyone in the former,

but with only individuals gaining in social prestige in the latter (ibid. 121). These insights will be reviewed below against the circumstances of Roman Britain.

Value hierarchies

Personal values also shape consumption decisions. Viewed as a psychological construct that unifies disparate aspects of behaviour they are considered common to mankind, though individuals and groups prioritise them differently. Schwartz (in press) describes values as ‘beliefs’ .. ‘desirable goals’.. and the ‘standards or criteria for our actions’. He proposes a set of ten basic values and quotes brain research that suggests they are underpinned by four innate drives located in the limbic centre (‘to acquire, to bond, to learn and to defend’). It seems likely therefore that these values are universal to the human species and probably, with one exception, have always been.

Intuitively, these values (fig.10) appear applicable to the context of Roman Britain and could serve as a basis for understanding the varying hierarchy of the motives of different villa owners. They are: self-direction (independence of outlook, creativity); stimulation (seeking excitement, novelty); hedonism (self-indulgence and pleasure); achievement (gaining success and social recognition); power (acquiring status, prestige and dominance over people and resources); security (stability of self and society); conformity (matching the social expectations of others); tradition (acceptance of cultural and religious norms); benevolence (concern for the welfare of one’s in-group); and universalism (concern for the welfare of all others and nature). The last of these is considered unlikely to have been relevant in antiquity.

Some values can be in conflict, for example, stimulation versus tradition. Others are complementary, such as tradition and conformity, because both are responsive to social expectations. The relationship between values is seen as a motivational continuum, a circle of values. Shalom Schwartz (pers.comm.) believes that many of these values do influence architectural consumption. This should not be interpreted as the influence of a single value so much as the outcome of the balance between conflicting values. A villa feature that appears unique, expressing the value of self-direction, would therefore reflect low valuation in respect of conformity and tradition.

There is scope to construct a value scheme for villas as an insight into conduct. Data might be considered in relation to the imputed cultural values of the elite. The

first requirement would be a form of content coding that relates particular features to particular values. Using a taxonomy of such features it would be necessary to develop a set of 'persuasive' arguments, broadly acceptable to archaeologists, as to why particular features are likely to express particular values, and others not. Such variables might be the size, design and nature of the villa; the quality, style and apparent scale of wall paintings and mosaics; the apparent importance attached to bath-houses and hypocausts; as well as considerations such as viewability, relationship with other settlements, enclosure walls, corridors, site history, wells, and gardens. The Schwartz Value Scheme (SVS) would provide a basis for speculating about the possible values that each feature might have been intended to express. It would also suggest that certain features, those that express similar values, would appear together more frequently, with others, expressing opposed values, rarely appearing together.

The relevance of individualism-collectivism to consumption is now recognised at both the level of a culture and in relation to the behaviour of a consumer. Decisions to acquire possessions represent the embodiment of values in a very definite way. There is evidence that individualists are more likely to consume conspicuously, that they consider things as being more important than people, and are more concerned with appearances and therefore rate most highly those possessions that have a public meaning and may make others envious (Wong 1997: 202).

In conclusion it may be noted that research now suggests a degree of correspondence between the two distinct categories of human characteristic understood as personality traits and values (Roccas et al. 2002). Traits appear to be biologically inherent; values are more affected by culture. The difference may be summed up: 'traits refer to what people are like, values to what people consider important' (ibid. 799).

3.7.4. Self-image

Recent work has identified self-concept, or self-image, as a guide to consumption. It arises and is understood as a person's self-perception of his or her attributes and possessions, viewed symbolically (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 310). A complexity is the multi-dimensionality of the construct and it is recognised that people may represent 'multiple selves', reacting differently in varying situations (Schiffman and Kanuk 2004: 143-5). Possessions may therefore be acquired to reflect the situational

context of a particular desired self, which can be interpreted as an 'actual' or 'ideal' self-image or an 'actual' or 'ideal' social self-image. That this issue matters is suggested by the reference (Dunbabin 1999a: 119) to the 'ideal self-image' of the apparent owner of the villa who is portrayed in the Mosaic of Dominus Julius at Carthage. He is pictured (*ibid.* fig.122) in various aristocratic poses around his estate. But is this necessarily the ideal self-image (his perception of himself) or is it the ideal social self-image (how he would like to be viewed) or his 'expected' self-image (how he would like to think of himself at some point in the future [Schiffman and Kanuk 2004: 145])? Such nuances could alter the interpretation of Roman material culture.

Psychological elaboration of self-identity may be apparent in the wider use of toiletry objects from the first century AD (Hill 1997), and in the spread of the habit of bathing and the associated rituals of self-preening that it brought about (Woolf 2001: 180-1). This emerging body-awareness suggests a desire for self-transformation through symbolic consumption and infers that people could imagine and recognise possible alternative 'selves' and reconstruct their identities in response (Schouten 1991: 420-3). It allows us to question for which 'self' were these Roman toiletry goods actually acquired. Whilst it is possible that such possessions reflected a desire to communicate the ideal of a social self-image that appeared 'Roman', equally possible are consumption motives linked to actual self-image. Research amongst those who consume to excess suggests that they are driven by perceived 'self-discrepancies' (about the person they want to be and the uniqueness they wish to project) in combination with materialistic values (Dittmar 2000: 129).

Symbolic self-completion arises when possessions are used to round off an otherwise incomplete self-identity (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982). It is a social-psychological process of compensation arising from a negative self-evaluation that follows from disruption to an individual's pursuit of personal goals. Any resulting sense of completeness will be an outcome both of the degree to which society has learned, acknowledges and shares the cognitive code of symbolic indicators that are used, and the extent to which the self-symbolizing behaviour has been noted by the community (*ibid.* 46-7). An alternative to the use of material culture in such self-presentation can be an affiliation with groups seen to be prestigious (*ibid.* 149). In an archaeological context such a consumption motivation at a macro-level might generally have shaped decisions by the elite to appear 'Roman' by constructing villas in the decades following the conquest. On a micro-scale it could equally account for

seemingly incongruous acquisitions, such as the figurative plaster, possibly from a ceiling, that was discovered in a bath-house attached to a small timber house at Hayton (Halkon et al. 2000: 12). This example suggests the potential for symbolic possessions to be acquired in order to lift the image of an apparently ordinary building and signify status both to the owner and those who viewed or experienced the facility. This introduces the idea of the 'connected self', the degree to which people define themselves in terms of their connections with others (Mowen 2001: 109). Possessions and the modern construct of consumer brands, are chosen, displayed and employed in order to be congruent with self-image (Loudon and Della Bitta 1993: 314). The proposition that it may be possible to read aspects of personality from mosaics viewed as brands is discussed below.

People who feel least secure socially, those with a gap between their real and idealised selves, are considered most likely to use symbolic self-completion as a substitute for real status, and the more inadequate they feel about their status or possessions the greater the use is made of these in self-presentation (Turner 1991: 263).

3.7.5. Impression management

Ultimately people consume within a personal strategy of impression management or self-presentation (Leary 1996). This implies that the individual will live within a state of 'dramaturgical awareness' within a physical environment that contributes 'sets', 'props' and 'moods' to this process (Goffman 1959). Most aspects of verbal and non-verbal behaviour are controlled, from expressed attitudes to altered personal appearance, and particular possessions can be used to convey intended impressions (Leary and Miller 2000: 130). The model is recognised (ibid. 133) as part-motivation, to manage impressions, and part-construction, or the processes involved. Self-presentation need not focus solely on social goals, but also on personal outcomes, for self-enhancing purposes (Greenwald and Breckler 1985: 126). Assertive impression-management strategies are often intended to increase social power. Such influence is strengthened through the acquisition and manipulation of resources which reflect prestige and also through the use of appropriate symbols to legitimate status (Tedeschi and Norman 1985: 305-7). Those most sensitive to social comparison and who therefore seek to control the impressions they create are labelled as 'high self-monitors' (measured by responses on a psychological scale) and are

most responsive to reference group pressures (Sabini 1995: 215). The self-monitoring construct recognises that individuals differ in their ability to control their self-presentation, and high self-monitors may create deliberately false impressions if a situation requires such behaviour (Snyder 1979). High self-monitors are more likely to choose possessions that meet their need for status and to make a public impression, whilst low self-monitors are less involved in the process of symbolic interaction in society (Browne and Kaldenberg 1997). The trait generally is therefore linked to conformism and being accepted in society (Antonides and van Raaij 1998: 173).

Leary argues (1996: 45-6) for a socio-biological, or evolutionary, basis for impression management that would bring survival advantages to those who contributed to gregarious, supportive and inclusive relationships and were most acceptable to others. He believes that humans learned to manage how they were seen by others once they developed the cognitive capacity to think consciously about themselves, around 40,000-60,000 years ago. Mark Leary (pers.comm.) accepts the author's contention that because villa design and improvements were partially unrelated to function then the symbolic behaviour that they represent can be labelled impression management. Those people for whom their public image or social identity is more important than their private feelings or personal identity are more concerned about the impressions that they produce in others (Christopher and Schlenker 2000: 5). The home is an environment where impression management takes place through the conscious selection of the type of accommodation, furnishings and the state of repair (Leary 1996: 31-2).

A debate within social psychology (Snyder 1979: 112) questions the degree to which either a given situation or a person's predisposition is the greater determinant of behaviour, particularly where high self-monitors are skilled in self-presentation. This insight might be applied to villas insofar that it could help explain why some axial rooms behind a corridor, and which in theory should have been used for social purposes, appear instead to have lacked a prestigious mosaic, as at Great Staughton (Smith 1994: 96). Perhaps in such cases the owners were low self-monitors and this contributed to their incompetence at self-presentation.

3.8. *The house as a consumer good*

Examples of how archaeologists have interpreted aggrandizement on villas have been summarised above. More specific perspectives that have examined architecture in Roman Britain include those that are generally technical (e.g. Johnson with Haynes 1996); socially constructed (e.g. Hingley 1990a; Scott 1990); family or kin-group focused (e.g. Clarke 1990; Smith 1997); culturally-specific (e.g. Ellis 2000; Perring 2002); centred on spatial relationships (e.g. Ellis 1999; Grahame 2000); or that draw on material culture (e.g. Rippengal 1993; Allison 1999, 2001). Much of this work has been informed by social theories (e.g. Samson 1990b; Locock 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994). Clearly a plurality of multi-dimensional interpretations and meanings can be valid, but not without a risk of 'hyper-relativism' (Bailey 1990: 24).

Using ethnographic evidence, archaeologists have also begun to discuss the house as an expression of consumer behaviour. Wilk (1990: 35) examines this from the point of view of economics and argues that decisions to build, acquire or use a residential property essentially reflect social and personal choices in the allocation of household resources. Prevailing cultural conventions will apply, but ultimately '*people shape houses*'. He suggests that an opportunity exists to establish the degree to which a particular society required or encouraged architectural conformity or alternatively provided scope for individual action (ibid. 41).

In a contrasting example, Blanton (1994) uses a cross-cultural study of peasant households to relate house form as an expression of wealth to social differentiation. He proposes that houses embody consumer identities that are conveyed mnemonically through the built environment. Such symbolic messages will be either 'canonical', or 'indexical'. The former relate largely to the private quarters, and reflect the structured cultural principles and cosmological relations in a society and the importance of practice, or *habitus* (after Bourdieu 1977). The latter serve essentially as expressions of the individuality of the occupants through publicly visible decorative elaboration (Blanton 1994: 8-13). One aspect of canonical variability can be the decision of the senior generation to invest in costly building materials and techniques to ensure 'household continuity'; younger family members could not afford to live elsewhere and still maintain social status (ibid. 112-4). A further dimension to indexical symbolism is termed 'social boundary communication' (ibid.

118) and is recognisable both as elements of pre-entry embellishment, including courtyards, walls and gates, together with the public regions within the house. The more important the social and community networks, the greater the attention that is attached to indexical display, interpreted as potential evidence of 'status anxiety' (ibid. 189).

In a third anthropological case, Colloredo-Mansfeld (1994) highlights a dynamic dimension to status signalling by showing that architectural meanings are not passive and can be manipulated. In response to changing economic and social circumstances, people adopt new styles of house in order to adjust the wealth messages being presented (ibid. 849-50).

Consumer approaches like these may have relevance to villa studies. On the one hand the 'objective' evidence from 'costing' can suggest what proportion of resources was devoted to status in any particular building. At the same time the idea that parts of a house can communicate to different audiences may offer an additional way to 'read' the status-seeking amenities that are introduced. It may also be possible to argue that villa variability reflects aspects of the personal identity of the owner(s). Such a starting point offers the advantage of bringing together economic, social, and psychological dimensions to the interpretation of Roman Britain.

3.8.1. *House personalisation*

An initial requirement is to suggest that personalising a villa may have been an acceptable, or even an encouraged behavioural strategy for domestic architectural consumption. Such an inference may be drawn for late Republican Italy from Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 6, preface) who advises, 'I cannot refrain from praising those owners of estates, who, fortified by confidence in their own erudition, build for themselves ... to spend their own capital to their own liking rather than that of anyone else'. The Younger Pliny, who was born cAD62, describes how he built a wing at his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17) and made additions to his homes by Lake Como (*Ep.* 9.7).

In the context of Roman Italy there was less scope in towns to express such individuality in an overt fashion, the *domus* serving as the context in which private life counted for less than the presentational strategies involved in displaying the social, political, business and cultural values of *Romanitas* in public (Hales 2003:5). In contrast, a country residence provided an environment for *otium*, or dignified leisure, where there was more scope for 'experimentation' in design (ibid. 76) and the

accent could be placed on the relaxed indulgence of 'whims, whether artistic, sexual or whatever' (ibid. 35). Such an association with personality perhaps explains the identification of the villa over time with family commemoration, including tombs, shrines and statuary (Bodel 1997). The pervasiveness and domination of imperial display within Rome perhaps also contributed to this rural fashion for innovative self-gratification (ibid. 31).

It is possible that idiosyncrasies in the styling of villas were given credibility by the behaviour of some Emperors. Imperial palaces were not uniform or stereotypically 'Roman', and to the contrary, 'their owners indulged in the most extreme fantasies of other worlds, whether foreign, divine, or wild' (Hales 2003: 245). It was the Roman competitive instinct expressed through architecture (ibid. 75). As examples drawn from different periods, Ball (2003:263) characterises the Esquiline wing of Nero's *Domus Aurea* as displaying 'revolutionary novelty'; MacDonald and Pinto (1995: chapter 4) describe the 'unfamiliar architecture' and 'new and meaningful artistic expression' of Hadrian's Villa; and McNally (1996: 3) observes the 'originality' and 'unparalleled' approach to the decoration of the Palace built for the retirement of Diocletian in Split.

Such evidence need have no relevance to Roman Britain. It is in addition more of a general rationale, rather than a theoretical explanation for apparent villa variation. Nevertheless, the suggestion arises that a dialogue could exist between the societal ideal of a villa styled in a particular way and that actually chosen by the owner. This must assume that all other factors are equal, with resources of wealth, skill and construction materials both sufficient and available. It also introduces two complexities that are rarely acknowledged when broad generalisations are used to explain motives for owning a villa over a period covering possibly 300 years or more. First, that the architectural decision-making in the first place may well have been undertaken either by one person, or by many; and second, that beyond the lifetimes of those involved, subsequent householders may have had little or no input (Allison 1999: 4).

One possibility was raised with a trait specialist, and is derived from personality theory. Particular traits can run in families and there is overwhelming evidence today that the heritability of the major traits can be at least 40%-50% (Gerry Matthews pers.comm.). It is suggested here that a continuing trait, together with socialisation within a particular family, might influence that household's ongoing desire to flaunt

wealth. In the case of extroversion, for which associated characteristics can be sociability/affiliation, assertion, achievement, exhibitionism, ascendancy, sensation-seeking and risk-taking (Depue and Collins 1999), the degree of heritability can be 66%.

A further consideration is that extrovert behaviour has been shown to be related to the higher levels of dopamine in the brain. This appreciation of the chemical basis of personality offers an insight into how and why people behaved as they did and why different households might have reacted differently within similar social situations.

3.8.2. Constructing a villa and its amenities

In arguing for such a dimension of consumer intentionality it is important to acknowledge that the interlude of time in which villa building took place was potentially nominal and therefore could have occurred easily within the lifetime and influence of a particular person, or persons, who could therefore introduce their own predispositions. Confirmation of such a short time scale comes from Butser Farm and concerns the recent re-creation of Sparsholt villa. The initial version of this experimental project was discussed in person by the author with the late Peter Reynolds, and subsequently with his partner, Christine Shaw (March 2003). The now completed reconstruction for a television series replaced initial work by Reynolds and was audited academically by Martin Millett, though he takes no responsibility for the end product (pers.comm.).

The original 25m x 13m (approx.) building featured several mosaics and a hypocaust and is labelled the 'main house' (Johnson 1969: 16), although Bryn Walters (pers.comm.) believes it is more likely that this would have been the aisled building to the east side of a perimeter wall. The frequently unhappy experience of the work of reconstruction is described by Evans (2003) and the finished villa will attract measured academic criticism in respect of its structure, layout and decoration. This scenario does not, however, affect the central point being made here, that building a villa need not necessarily have taken that long. This takes into account the various shortcuts and compromises forced upon the Butser team.

Particularly time-consuming activities included gathering flint nodules, digging out a 5m x 5m x 1.3m hole in solid chalk for the furnace, laying the 0.6m thick walls at the rate of 1.6m in length a day to a depth of 0.3m, and applying huge volumes of slaked lime mortar (bought in, not created in situ). The quantities of materials that

were required also surprised, being measured in many hundreds of tons. Even allowing for plastering for a few, not all walls, laying a relatively simple mosaic (although not a copy of the actual, complex pavement), and using stone tiles for roofing, a 12-month timescale is considered achievable, although this does not include an allowance for the building to dry. Recognising that the mistakes made at Butser were exceptional, Shaw accepts that a broad estimate for a total labour cost would be around £100,000 at today's prices, together with a similar sum for materials. This figure correlates satisfactorily with Newman's cost-based classification of this villa (using 1994 prices) as 'substantial'. In contrast, the reconstruction at Butser of a large Iron Age roundhouse took two men a year (Christine Shaw pers.comm.). Like the villa, it is considered large enough for a wealthy household (the outer diameter was 15m).

Aside from having to acquire new techniques of design and construction, this point alone demonstrates the required fundamental change in attitudes towards the consumption of resources that a 'Roman' house would represent. It is possible, of course, that all building activity was undertaken by part-time farmers over a number of seasons. This is considered unlikely, however, given the intensity of the agricultural work that takes place between spring and autumn, as has been revealed at Butser Farm. Further problems would arise in winter from the variability of temperature and its effect on working with mortar, and firing tiles etc.(Christine Shaw pers.comm.). Shaw suggests instead that specialists may have worked throughout each summer. It should be pointed out that Martin Millett (pers.comm.) observes that the Butser team was inexperienced and learned on the job, didn't use entirely 'ancient' technology and materials, and that he disagrees with Shaw over whether work was done seasonally. This does not distract from the main point being made here, that the potentially short timescale makes it possible for a consumer's psychology to have been an influence.

A further case-study, the recent replication of a bath-house, is reported near the Roman city of Sardis in western Turkey (Fisher and Fisher 2000). It involved a team of archaeological specialists including Garrett Fagan, Tony Rook and Fikret Yegül and 'authentically' reconstructed a vaulted stand-alone building that incorporated a sequence of *tepidarium*, *caldarium* and *frigidarium*. Excluding time spent in planning, the work took 50 days using a team of a dozen labourers, who were farmers

not builders. The one major problem encountered was the cracking of insufficiently dry tiles but this was seen as an outcome of rushing to meet deadlines.

In a final example, it seems probable that the logistics of material supply aside, the average time required to lay the majority of mosaics, except the most complex, would have been 'weeks rather than months' for each (Stephen Cosh pers.comm.).

3.8.3. Introducing a consumer perspective

Insights from environment-behaviour research may contribute to a consumption hypothesis with which to interpret villas. It has been noted already (Lang 2000: 86) that Maslow's model of human needs can be used to theorize how personal motivations might be linked to building 'functionality' in a given social context. Architectural cues that match the level four needs of esteem and status include a 'sense of importance' and 'recognition' (ibid. 88). Conscious or unconscious drives in people may be universal, but will vary relatively both within each person and in response to cultural influences in each society, and over time (ibid. 92). Such circumstances will apply also to needs lower down the Maslowian hierarchy, and the physiological and psychological issues inherent in the idea of comfort are discussed below in relation to hypocausts. The highest level of needs, that for self-actualization, includes cognitive and aesthetic considerations like beauty and pattern, the possible use of symbolism, and the creation of 'intellectually-rich behaviour settings' within which to learn, explore and experience (ibid. 88). This interpretation may offer an insight into the varying degrees of complexity of mosaics and is discussed below. Jon Lang (pers.comm.) supports the author's argument that Maslow's model is useful for looking at and asking questions about design intentions in architecture within any period.

That people bring varying choices to the built environment is recognised by Rapoport (2000: 186) even though such decision-making must be 'anchored' within cultural conventions. The scope for such individuality is greatest where the level of consensus within social groups is weakest (ibid. 186). Environmental clues about intended identity must be recognised within society for the meanings to be understood and accepted (Rapoport 1982). How architecture conveys meanings in a symbolic way is discussed by Lang (1987: 85-99). Briefly, this arises from an interacting relationship between the observer, the symbol expressed through the built environment, and a cultural referent, for example, an ideology (i.e. arguably in this

case, one that is 'Roman'). Such symbolic meanings are conveyed through house configuration, enclosed space, sense of place, building materials, surface colours and through the use of aesthetics that express feelings (Lang 1988: 16-9).

The depth psychology theories of Carl Jung are applied by Cooper (1974) to propose the interpretation of the 'house as symbol of the self', both the interior and exterior. Cooper argues that a house is more than a conscious reflection of a self-expressive desire for social identity through status, but is also an unconscious revelation of the psyche and its deeper emotional attachment to a home. In a later work (Cooper Marcus 1997), she identifies this psychological process through the personalization of domestic space. This can be intended to symbolise the 'ego-self', and relationships with others, or later in life the 'transpersonal self' that reflects an individual's desire for wholeness, the need to make sense of their existence (ibid. 8-12).

3.8.4. Applying trait theory to villas: some examples

If such psychoanalytical insights are accepted then it could mean that personality differences might be a guide to the relative significance of different symbolic meanings to particular people, whether as individuals or in groups (Lang 1987: 213). Lang suggests, for example, that one variable could be the need for recognition, another a person's degree of introversion or extroversion. The potential for such personality traits to influence consumption behaviour for objects has been highlighted and the topic will now be re-introduced in more detail in the context of villas.

Possession-related traits include materialism, the satisfaction derived from owning things. Materialists make possessions central to their lives, take pleasure from acquisition and assess both themselves and others by the quantity and quality of the objects that they have (Richins and Dawson 1992). Materialism can become a central value within a society (ibid. 307) and this appears to characterise the burgeoning demand for consumer luxuries within elite circles from the second century BC in Roman Italy (Wallace-Hadrill 2000: 309-10), and later in Gaul (Woolf 1998: 67-8). Further characteristics of materialism can be possessiveness, unwillingness to share, and feeling envious of the belongings of others (Belk 1985). There is a debate as to whether the habit is anti-social and damages the sense of community, or may even be a replacement for it (ibid. 266). Materialistic values substitute the centrality of people by a preference for possessions and may be in

conflict with prosocial experiences of family or religion and can harm these and other values in a collectivist society (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002: 364-6).

The 'costing' formula that is illustrated above, whilst anachronistic, helps to identify the new emphasis on materialistic values that appears to have characterised villas. It is possible that some households comprised what we would now call compulsive 'buyers'. Today such a disorder could be treated with anti-depressants like Prozac or by therapy (Dittmar 2000: 127). Materialism does not necessarily reflect simply the desire to have possessions, but can reveal darker issues related to envy and non-generosity, the need for mood-enhancement and the low self-esteem of those involved (Faber 2000: 31-40).

An extreme dimension of possession-mindedness can be 'fixated' consumption which can take the form of compulsive collecting. Belk (1995b:2) suggests that accumulations of shells, fossils, quartz and galena found on sites in the Upper Paleolithic period provide an early example of the desire to collect. He notes a 'collecting frenzy' in Rome, identifies Sulla in the first century BC as the 'first great private collector' and refers to dealers in antiques, art and books on the Villa Publica as a source of supply (ibid. 23).

This form of socially accepted addiction offers a consumer behaviour insight to explain the discovery of what may be imported second century family busts in Greek marble at Lullingstone villa in Kent (Toynbee 1950: 43). Traditionally the collection is considered part of a private portrait gallery (Meates 1955: 84). Whilst no evidence has survived in this study area of this particular activity, the Lullingstone example may be indicative of evolving consumer attitudes. For example, this might infer an obsession to collect (Olmsted 1991: 287), or perhaps 'curatorial consumption' (McCracken 1990: 53), a process of guarding family possessions 'that converts ancestors into objects and objects into descendants'. Collections are recognised as extensions of the self, and owe to self-defining motives for consumption like power, nostalgia, control or prestige (Belk et al. 1988: 550), as well as to help the collector fantasise about the kind of person he or she would like to be. Extreme acquisitiveness can be legitimised if viewed by others as worthwhile (ibid. 549). An impulse that Belk (1995b: 146) recognises can be a dysfunctional 'fetishistic mystification' of objects. Such insights can challenge the presumption that collections of art found in villas necessarily had been compiled simply in order to express the admirable eclectic

taste and wealth of the owner (Bartman 1994: 73-4), or to convey erudition and so create status (Neudecker 1998: 78).

In contrast is the consumer trait of voluntary simplicity, which has been discussed. Allied to this is frugality which need not owe to a lack of wealth, but instead to factors as varied as the religious encouragement of restraint or psychological correlates such as orderliness and authoritarianism (Lastovicka et al. 1999). One characteristic of the frugal can be their resourcefulness in re-using possessions to avoid having to acquire more (ibid. 87). Archaeologists often note that objects have been repaired, for example samian ware that is restored with rivets (Willis 1997: 39). On a larger scale frugalism offers an alternative explanation for the limited development of a site like Wymbush, a Roman farmstead that never evolved, and for which the suggested reason is that it was just a satellite to Bancroft villa (Zeepvat 1987b: 90). Another behaviour that explains why people try to avoid consuming is that of making a decision to delay, which in turn reflects a person's general level of anxiety and this is linked to the FFM trait of neuroticism, but can owe also to an aversion to risk and a low responsiveness to the influence of others (Stammerjohan and Webster 2002: 126-7).

The trait of susceptibility to the interpersonal influence of others (Solomon 2002: 329) may explain why some villas invested more than did others in those rooms intended for social purposes, an example perhaps being Bancroft which is examined below. Equally the opposite of such a trait offers the possibility that discrepant motives were involved in the selection of villa sites that were geographically, and perhaps to a degree, also socially isolated, as in the cases of Carsington and Gargrave. Whilst such remoteness does not mean that people, such as tenants, did not visit these houses, the choice of a location that was apparently isolated from the equivalent properties of fellow members of the elite does need to be explained.

Another variant of personality, the 'need for cognition' (Engel et al. 1995: 440) or enjoyment derived from thinking, could be a contributory factor explaining the tendency for some owners to feature scenes from classical mythology in their set-piece mosaics. It may have contributed to their motive to acquire and display erudition, or *paideia*, which is seen as a distinguishing hallmark of the elite. The allied trait of intellectualism may offer an explanation for the examples of labyrinth mosaics that are found at Harpham (Neal and Cosh 2002: 338-9) and Oldcoates (ibid.

274-5). This personality variable is offered as an alternative to the view expressed by Smith (1959: 307) that the labyrinth was a 'novelty' intended to keep children quiet when it rained. Perhaps, instead, it was viewed by the villa owners as a metaphor for their ability to think in complex ways. The maze was a design that caught the attention of The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 36.19).

The opportunity that trait theories present is to question reductionist explanations for villa improvement and also in the scope that they offer to infer the individual predispositions of the owner. Further examples of the potential of this approach may be outlined briefly and are drawn from Furnham and Heaven (1999). They are the observations that personality variables might influence receptiveness to religious beliefs (*ibid.* 106-12), in which case this might be a contributory explanation for the pagan or Christian emphasis on mosaics in some villas; and attitudes to recreation and sport (*ibid.* 228-33), in which case they might be a contributory explanation for mosaic scenes that depict aspects of a hunt or chariot racing. There is a correlation between extroversion and representation art, and between openness to experience and abstract art (Furnham and Walker 2001: 69). Sensation-seeking is linked to a liking for surreal paintings (Furnham and Avison 1997: 933), but not for representational art. The trait, openness to experience, is a strong correlative predictor for a general awareness and knowledge of art, though not of judgement (Furnham and Chamorro-Premuzic 2004). Such understandings offer scope to question generalisations that are made by archaeologists in respect of stylistic approaches to wall decoration and mosaics, irrespective of whether the decision-maker is seen to be the artist or patron. Weight is added to the idea that the villa owner made the choice because the personality of that person would arguably have to have been consistent with the selected style. It may not be enough to relate art preferences in the ancient world simply to factors like wealth, or erudition.

Archaeologists may in the future be able to take advantage of insights derived from genetic research into individual differences. The Human Genome Project recognises that small DNA variations expressed through multiple-gene systems appear to account for the variable heritability of complex quantifiable traits, and therefore behaviour (Plomin 2002: 910-3). Robert Plomin (*pers.comm.*) acknowledges that DNA extracted from bones dated to the Roman period could, providing that samples are sufficient in the future, offer a perspective on aspects of the personalities of those who lived on villas. Caveats include finding sufficient

skeletal material (not common on rural sites) and linking it to those who owned the villas. Allowances must also be made for damage and contamination to the DNA record (Stirland 1999: 59).

3.8.5. Predicting personality from possessions

Guided by impression management theory, which was introduced above, predictive cues about personality can also be observed from possessions and household settings (Burroughs et al. 1991). Such assessments have been shown to correlate well with the self-image of the owners, although there are limits to absolute accuracy (ibid. 161). Work by Gosling and Jin Ko (2002) confirms that people communicate both their personal and their social identities through the symbolism inherent in the decoration and through the possessions displayed in their personal space.

Such self-directed and other-directed behaviours offer insights into personality. The suggestion that this could apply equally to the ancient world was put to Sam Gosling (pers.comm.). He replied saying that the occupant-observer research approach could also relate to villa buildings and fixtures providing that the occupants had some say in the original design or some choice in selecting the building in which they lived. An issue is whether the impressions reflect how the person would like to be, or their 'ideal self', or how they really are. In some cultures, such as America today, it is possible for evidence of affluence to count far more than personality differences in perceived assessments of personal qualities (Christopher and Schlenker 2000).

A study of identity symbolism and house choice (Sadalla et al. 1987) notes that owners acknowledge that their homes, inside and out, reflect their identity, including such dimensions as 'cultural sophistication ... and individualism'. The conclusion is that houses are used self-presentationally 'to symbolise and display the self' (ibid. 586). This interdependence between owners and their residential settings works the other way too: a house can manifest not only a fairly self-evident attribute of social identity like status, but also less obvious considerations of individual identity, including personality traits (Cherulnik and Bayless 1986: 672). The building materials chosen for a house can also be used in impression management (Sadalla and Sheets 1993) and can reveal information about owner identity. It has been argued that house personalization, in expressing self-image, also underpins 'feelings of attachment' to that property (Bell et al. 1996: 312). Perhaps such psychological

bonding, the emotions of person-place attachment, could have contributed to a family's long-standing identification with a villa, a suggestion proposed below for Redlands Farm.

The application of 'possession-consciousness' as the basis for conveying identity (Appleyard 1979: 6-8) can have two dimensions, being interpreted either in economic terms, by the size of house and its obvious materialism, or culturally, for example through the display of the aesthetic taste and sophistication of the owners. The precise balance of these is liable to fashion change. One finding is that the *nouveaux riches* are more concerned to use the right status symbols, whereas old money tends to be more casual and subtle about status display even to the point of paying less attention to repairs and maintenance. Ethnographic research (Duncan and Duncan 1976a) further suggests that the characteristics of an old elite can be its basic social 'impermeability' to newcomers or outsiders, and for this reason their houses matter less as a guide to status. In contrast, members of a 'permeable' new elite repeatedly have to advertise their status using an internal and external decorative repertoire for their house that is a 'relatively 'loud', outwardly oriented, non-verbal set of cues' (ibid. 249). The study also shows that the stronger the 'connectedness' of the elite, the less the role of the house in self-presentation, and instead the more will be spent on feasting or entertainment for peer groups or family.

There can also be the concept of 'status passage', the process of transfer of identities between social worlds, and which can be 'incomplete', whether 'nascent', 'aborted' or 'partial' (Duncan and Duncan 1976b: 211-3).

3.8.6. Critiquing the individualist approach

Such considerations offer a potential explanation for apparent anomalies in the social standing of villas, and examples are discussed below. The approach has its weaknesses. The messages conveyed symbolically by material culture may be elusive and not always understood (Dittmar 1992: 186). Viewing the house as an expression of individual choice reflects western-centric attitudes towards identity and personal-esteem that may not apply in cultures of communality (Rapoport 1981: 11). Identity is also multi-dimensional and may be demarcated in non-environmental and archaeologically-invisible ways. Identity cues also have to survive the test of time and human influences will have changed over the duration of a villa. A house in an individualistic society may convey a status that stands for the apartness of the person,

expressed through possessions, but this is an idea that would be meaningless in collectivist societies, where status derives from community-centred activities (Duncan 1985: 135).

The proposition is further challenged by Pratt (1981), who argues that the characterisation of the self as having a unique individuality has emerged, or become 'privatised' (ibid. 142), only in the last 200 years. *Contra* Cooper (1974), Pratt also argues that the idea of the house as a mirror of self-image mistakenly presumes that a person could act independently of a social group, whereas in fact identity arises from a shared psychological process within society that reflects, adjusts to, and is an outcome of the views of others. His conclusion is that self-expression through architectural display is a recent and historically-specific consequence of particular factors. These have included the use of marketing to imbue possessions with psychological associations and the promotion of pleasure in society (ibid. 174). Within the Roman world the subordination of private life and individual psychology to social relations is argued also by Thébert (1987: 320). Whilst such considerations may explain those elements of a villa that commonly occur, however, they do not account for the exceptions that this study suggests were widespread.

At the same time, it has proved very difficult for Romanists to avoid applying an introspective perspective to the past. It is easy to become subjectively involved in a process defined by Dittmar (1992: 191) as 'the rise of autonomous individuality' ... thinking of ourselves as 'isolated, separated individuals'. What Dittmar calls the 'identity through possessions' model (ibid. 193) may therefore have coloured archaeological thinking about villas. For example, Millett (1990: 197) refers to fourth century rural estates as foci for 'central persons' .. who 'directed .. surpluses towards personalized rather than communal display'. Salway (1993: 409) suggests that 'we ... may imagine the upper-class Roman Briton ... living part of his time on his country property'. Scott (2000: 112) proposes that we 'envisage a situation whereby prominent landowners entertained each other at their private residences'. Ellis (2000: 181) argues that 'British villas clearly express the personal wealth and interests of individual aristocrats, whose private, personal, legally protected homes they were'. Perring (2002: 219) concludes that 'in the countryside, status more directly attached to the individual landowner from the outset'.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine villas in detail as evidence for individualism versus collectivism as the dominant cross-cultural construct, but

general conclusions will be drawn. This issue matters because when archaeologists apply the conspicuous consumption thesis, and the inference that this carries of the highly visible acquisition of luxuries, then this implies the dominance of individualistic values (Wong 1997: 199). Romanists do not acknowledge that some or all of the elite in post-conquest society may have switched from collectivist values to become more thing-, rather than person-centred.

Chapter Four. Demonstrating consumer behaviour on villas: case-studies

Case-studies follow in which consumer theories help to demonstrate how behaviour towards material culture in the Roman world may be better understood. These focus specifically on aspects of domestic architecture and are drawn largely from the East of England. Similar approaches to personal possessions may also be possible, but are not addressed directly in this study.

4.1. *Wall-plaster pigments as a guide to consumer psychology*

In this example, the accepted correlation between interior decoration and status on villas is shown, using consumption insights applied to selected pigments, to afford scope for more detailed interpretation. Wall painting is acknowledged as a relatively costly but quite widespread expression of prestige in Britain during the Roman period (Davey and Ling 1982: 46). Because evidence is fragmentary, inferences about motives typically are drawn from the size, shape and probable purpose of the room, the polychromy, intended symbolism, technical merit and the relative novelty or fashionability of the particular decoration. Although a typology recognises a panelling effect, architectural features or figurative work (Ling 1985), the interpretation of social motives in Roman Britain is difficult, in contrast to Pompeii where more work has been undertaken on the much better preserved remains (e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 1994; but see Tybout 2001).

4.1.1. *Insights from cinnabar*

The use of cinnabar (mercuric sulphide, the ancient *minium*) may cut across such considerations. Morgan (1992: 64, 85) highlights its scarcity value both in Britain and Italy. According to The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 33.40), cinnabar was mined in Spain in Sisapo, today known as Almaden, and exported to Rome for refining. Examples found in Britain would then have been imported. Classical sources attest to the association between the pigment and personal standing. Its special significance is attested by Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 7.8), and by The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 35.12) who identifies cinnabar as one of the brilliant colours (*floridi*) which the patron supplies at his own expense to the painter, as opposed to naturally occurring pigments. A price ceiling was set in Italy for cinnabar (Ling 1991: 209) and in Pompeii it is found only in the finest rooms in the most affluent homes (Ling and Ling 2000: 58) and in

similarly prestigious settings in Rome (Rozenburg 1997). Morgan (1992: 82) identifies cinnabar in 27 out of 70 locations, among them Fishbourne Palace in Sussex, but at only half-a-dozen villas, with most of these considered relatively luxurious, including Bignor in Sussex, Leicester (Norfolk Street), and Piddington. The use of cinnabar in Britain could possibly have been imbued with imperial prestige, suggesting an elite identification with the power and culture of Rome in much the same way, if on a lesser basis, than was the case with marble (Isserlin 1998). Special influence was perhaps required to obtain the material.

Consumer theory offers a more nuanced analysis. Cinnabar would have been coveted not just for its brightness, but also because it was expensive, though piecemeal finds make it impossible to know how much was used. Morgan (1992: 68) shows that a square metre of fresco painting required 40g of the refined material, or eight sesterces at prices quoted by The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 33, 40), and the equivalent price for acquiring this amount of cinnabar in 1992 is quoted at £60. There were also the costs of procuring and importing cinnabar and the recommended protective waxing and oiling to stop it turning black, as well as burnishing to improve wear and polishing to produce a 'brilliant sheen' (Vitruvius 7.3, 5-7). Smoothed bunter sandstone pebbles that appear to have been used to buff plaster in this way have been found at Piddington (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.).

Two consumption motivations may be inferred (Leibenstein 1950), the so-called 'snob effect', a wish to be exclusive (demand would decline if others used the pigment) and the 'Veblen effect', where the requirement would be that cinnabar was both costly, and its conspicuous price was also high. This is not just what others presume was paid, but what the property owner thinks that others imagine that it cost. A contrast may be drawn with Leibenstein's 'bandwagon effect' or acquisition merely to be fashionable, to belong, and which might characterise the widespread use of commonplace pigments. Emphasising the ostentation that is apparently intended when cinnabar is used, is the discovery at Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire of the pigment having been scraped from walls for later re-cycling (Kenfield 1997: 195).

A curiosity is the discovery of cinnabar in finds of wall-plaster in a small aisled farmstead at Empingham (Morgan 2000: 128). In a building without a mosaic perhaps its use was expected to impress influential people from nearby Great Casterton (Nick Cooper pers. comm.), but consumer theory suggests a more specific explanation. The newly rich, or those attempting to represent themselves as such (as

opposed to families with long standing wealth), may consume in a conspicuous way out of 'status anxiety', to be seen to do the correct emblematic thing (Solomon 2002: 403). Such symbolic self-completion recognises flamboyant display as the means to acquire an identity in an unaccustomed role through the acquisition of the right symbols. Whilst its use here may be chance, a supply of cinnabar having fortuitously come the decorators' way, the likelihood of this at Empingham is reduced by the discovery of Egyptian blue, another artificial pigment (below), although this was found 400m away in wall-plaster from a separate aisled building (Morgan 2000: 129). The Empingham example appears to challenge the presumption that only large villas represent wealth or prestige.

A pointer to changing status may be the apparent decline, towards the later Roman period, in the standards of workmanship in wall decoration (Morgan 1992: 86). This has been noted at Leicester (Norfolk Street), and was coupled there with the dilution of cinnabar with other red pigment (Richard Buckley pers.comm.). Given that the whole point of using cinnabar was its bright and strong colouration, such a weakening of this effect is more suggestive of a cost-cutting motive than an intention to introduce an additional tone. It is possible that later villa occupiers were less discriminating because being an old elite they had less need to be image-conscious, and this consumer motive can be contrasted with any inference that the supply of the material was declining.

4.1.2. Egyptian blue

To a lesser extent Egyptian blue, or 'blue frit', may also have conveyed prestige. Morgan (1992) believes it was probably imported (Vitruvius [7.11] identifies the Bay of Naples as the source), but it could have been synthesized locally using basically sand, lime and copper to a complex formula in crucible temperatures of 800 °C. It is certainly found more commonly than cinnabar, but could have cost five times more than the best ochre in Roman Italy (Augusti 1967: 147-9) and it is not ubiquitous. The discovery of a sample of the material, and also a possible Roman ring, at the Roman Iron Age wheelhouse site of Sollas, North Uist may suggest that it was sought after (Campbell 1991: 167). Given the apparent social standing of Bignor, Fishbourne Palace, Leicester (Norfolk Street) and Piddington, it is surely no coincidence that both cinnabar and Egyptian blue are found at each of these locations. This was also the case at both the fort and villa in Piercebridge (Morgan 1992;

Andrew Fitzpatrick pers.comm.), and this could be an example of how reference group behaviour served to connect the two neighbouring sites. It is arguable that when Egyptian blue occurs as the sole artificial pigment it also inferred status (Roger Ling pers.comm.). Further examples of its use in this study area occur at the villas at Beadlam, Dalton Parlours, Nether Heyford and Stanton Low (where it was found as a ball of prepared pigment). The idea that Egyptian blue had a cosmetic use in the late Iron Age (Price 1995: 308) and possibly other purposes, is a reminder that its discovery in lump form is less conclusive than taking a sample from plaster, and may also explain the find at Sollas.

4.1.3. *Scientific analysis*

The introduction of increasingly scientific techniques to the analysis of wall-plaster provides further scope to examine whether consumer motives may have existed. One simple example would be to make comparisons with the manufacturing standards recommended by Vitruvius (7.11). An *intonaco* coat can be introduced between mortar and pigment, using crushed crystalline calcite as an alternative to the suggested marble, in order to increase reflectance. Whilst exceedingly rare in Roman Britain it has been noted at Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire (Kenfield 1997: 197). Equally the Vitruvian ideal of seven layers of plaster has to date only been found at Fishbourne Palace (Morgan 1992: 84). Further cases have perhaps been unintentionally overlooked.

4.1.4. *Raman spectroscopy and the colour purple*

Raman spectroscopy and microscopy techniques are now being applied to pigment analysis and may offer further consumption insights. Such examination helps both to identify the chemical constituents of a colour as well as its crystallographic basis (Middleton et al., forthcoming).

This is particularly relevant in the context of the violet shade of purple. This was an especially sought-after colour but expensive and difficult to obtain from natural sources, including sea shells and lichen. An additional consideration, noted in the ancient sources, is that the organic forms of purple are unstable in strong light and not easy to adhere. The highly-prized qualities of this pigment are identified by Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 7.13) and by The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 35.30; 44) who specifies purple as one of the colours for which patrons had to pay extra. According to Reinhold (1970: 71), purple was ‘the most enduring status symbol of the ancient

world' and antiquarian scholarship in Rome linked the colour with Romulus (ibid. 39). There were many times, with fluctuations, when purple garments served effectively as a status symbol (Reinhold 1971: 282-3), and, for example, the colour was associated with the special insignia of emperors during the third and fourth centuries (ibid. 283). The colour was used sparingly, and notably in a room with extravagant decoration, in a Pompeian house studied by Allison (2002: 203, 206), although the possibility is raised that purple varied in its fashionability over different periods. It is arguable that such inferences made the pigment a desirable attribute of wall-plaster in Britain.

In a study of 550 samples from Roman wall paintings in eight sites across Europe (Bearat 1996) only 14 cases of the violet colouration of purple were noted. Although various methods were applied to replicate this most desirable shade (de Oliveira et al. 2002: 536), one accessible substitute to natural sources proved to be a violet known as *caput mortuum* that was mixed using haematite. In a study of Northamptonshire villas using Raman techniques the violet/purple pigment has been found at Nether Heyford and Piddington, and also in the bath-house at Rushton (Middleton et al., forthcoming), cases which are considered expressive of the affluence and standing of the owners. Adding to this sense of status, the Raman-derived spectra reveal that at Rushton the purple was mixed with kaolinite clay, probably originating from Cornwall, both to improve its adhesion and to provide a more brilliant and smoother finish. Middleton suggests that the artists 'were responding to patrons who demanded a high quality of workmanship'.

On villas elsewhere other tonalities of purple may have been applied in order to allude to status through imitation. It is likely that all versions of the colour were significant (Paul Middleton pers.comm.). One reason offered to explain why various tones of purple might equally have conveyed prestige in antiquity is that the colour may have been viewed as a class of red (Gage 1993: 26). As such it was therefore expressive of the sun and light, and the divine. Under Emperors including Diocletian and Constantine, the colour was progressively associated with the insignia of the imperial family (Reinhold 1970: 72). Because Raman techniques are only now being introduced, however, it is still the case that most pigment reports for villas make only a general reference to particular hues of the colour, as at Dalton Parlours (McKenna 1990: 160) or Godmanchester (McAvoy 1999: 97). An additional complication is that archaeologists tend not to use Munsell colour charts which would help to

standardise descriptions and strengthen visual assessments, although for an exception, see Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire (Kenfield 1997: 196-7). Nevertheless, scope exists using pigment analysis to reassess those wall paintings that feature purple and conclusions might be drawn not just in terms of artistic merit but also from a micro-consumption perspective.

One example is the 'scarcity-rarity' model proposed by Robinson (1961), from which it could be presumed that villa owners would command respect and recognition through the use of a fashionable colour that demonstrated their control over factors of supply (ibid. 398). A further consumer insight may arise from the distinction drawn by Woods (1960: 18) between 'prestige' goods which both symbolise and express leadership and individuality - arguably the pigments, cinnabar and purple - and lesser colours which serve to announce membership of a status group, such as Egyptian blue. Both are examples of 'ego-involvement' in the meanings associated with the product (ibid. 17).

4.1.5. *Palette range and specialist techniques*

A more generalised approach that Raman spectroscopy permits for future study is to compare the number and range of colours used in a palette, villa by villa. Conclusions must allow for incomplete survival of evidence, the possibility that sampling was not methodical, and the intricacy of the design concerned, and ideally would compare rooms believed to have been used for the same purpose. The potential to 'read' the psychological significance of pigments, notably those recognised as being more vibrant and unusual, is suggested in a study of the Casa della Caccia Antica in Pompeii in the first century AD (Allison 2002). Sites considered of special quality and where pigments remain in situ might be offered as a benchmark. These could include Fishbourne Palace, where in the North Wing there were at least a dozen colours, together with various additional shades and a variety of styles of imitative marbling (Cunliffe 1971a: 58-70), and the Painted House, Dover, where there were 15 colours (Morgan 1989: 268-9). In broad terms it is worthy of comment that a villa palette could vary from four colours, as at Stanion (Paul Middleton pers.comm.), to six, as at Beadlam (Morgan 1996: 112) to ten, as at Dalton Parlours (McKenna 1990: 157-60). Eleven were noted at Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire (Kenfield 1997: 196-7).

A further opportunity which Raman methods afford is the identification of skilled techniques employed by artists seeking to achieve special decorative effects using non-imported materials. An example has been quoted (above) of the use of kaolinite to enhance a finish. A similar case applies at Easton Maudit where finds of paint pots in a cellar reveal traces of the additive anatase, an unusual form of titanium oxide (Paul Middleton pers.comm.). This white/grey pigment has a reflective quality and was perhaps introduced into red pigment as a specialist technique in order to obtain a glossy finish. The nearest source of the material to Northamptonshire may well have been Devon.

Recognising such diversity draws attention potentially to the organisation of the craft and the possibility of regional patterns of operation that might have involved participation by painters aware of advanced techniques. Additionally, however, it offers insights into consumer attitudes if the assumption is made that both the selection of the palette and the inventiveness displayed in wall-plastering were overt responses to the reference group motives of the patron. This would be to assume that the decision was that of the villa owner to be in vogue and was not just a reflection of the creative instincts of the painter. In such circumstances the thorough analysis of pigment offers scope to link sites where peer-group relationships can be inferred in the absence of evidence of specific designs. Equally the social competition that is manifested in the deliberate choice of more as well as rare colours and also the use of complex and exceptional methods, will point to those villas perceived to have held the highest place in the reference group hierarchy.

In conclusion it may be proposed that pigment analysis that is intended to reveal consumer motives will also serve to counter possible judgementalism that could arise from an art history bias in wall painting studies. As an example, a reference to wall-plaster at West Deeping concludes that 'the collection is confined to small fragments lacking any indication of design (colour only) and does not merit detailed analysis' (Neal, in press).

4.2. House styles as a 'bridge' to a 'golden past'?

The idea that possessions can be an inventive medium for the creation of new symbolic meanings in society offers a theoretical approach to the explanation of anomalous building practices. Two housing forms in the East Midlands are

exceptions to the generalisation that Iron Age timber roundhouses in civilian areas were succeeded by rectangular timber 'proto-villas' and in turn stone-built, increasingly 'developed' houses. The model is noted by Rivet (1964: 106-7) and has been adopted within this study area at Piddington (Friendship-Taylor 1997: 49).

One is a tradition of stone-walled circular structures which emerged and continued notably in Northamptonshire, between the mid-second and fourth centuries AD (Keevill and Booth 1997). Various functional and social explanations are offered for the 'tenacious cultural trait' (ibid. 42) of round buildings. Most examples of such stone-built structures are accepted as having domestic uses and are often associated with high-status sites, though being less aggrandized (with exceptions) they are considered of relatively lower social importance than rectangular villas. The other example is the lasting preference in parts of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire for the rectangular aisled timber building. This style appeared as a partial successor to wooden roundhouses and by the late-third and fourth centuries became a 'hybrid' household which featured 'Roman' improvements, whilst retaining indigenous practice in respect of the division of internal space (Taylor 2001: 51-2). Some were later constructed in stone.

The consumer behaviour concept of 'displaced meaning' (McCracken 1990: chapter 7) offers an insight. This hypothesis, which can apply equally to nations, communities, cultures or individuals, is that a distance exists in life between experienced (unsatisfactory) reality and an imagined (desired) ideal. The discrepancy is resolved by 'meaning manipulation', the appropriation of possessions to serve as an illusory 'bridge' to a different place or time. This would be a golden age, a notion which McCracken shows was used in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, that can be either long gone or to come. The object becomes a symbolic but solid access point to the displaced perfect ideal and a substitute in the mind for unattractive reality. Contemporary examples quoted by McCracken (ibid. 110-1) are the 'rose-covered cottage' in this country as redolent of someone's perfect future, and the 'log cabin' as being evocative in America of a virtuous past. The suggestion that follows draws on research that shows how house building materials can function to convey preferred social or personal identity through processes of symbolic communication (Sadalla and Sheets 1993: 176-9).

Arguably, constructing roundhouses in stone enabled people to protect beliefs associated with a 'golden' (pre-conquest) tradition, and one that continued in areas of

the province to the north and west (Hingley 1989: 31), whilst for appearances they adopted a new building resource. In some cases this additionally involved tessellation, as at Ringstead (Jackson 1980: 18); internal wall decoration, as probably was the case in buildings E and H at Winterton (Liversidge 1976: 276, 287); and possibly glazing, as at Redlands Farm (Edward Biddulph pers. comm.), and Stanwick in North Yorkshire (Pam Lowther pers. comm.). A further category of evidence may support the argument that meaning displacement may have been taking place, with personal or tribal values residing in the continuing tradition of circular structures. Both at Ringstead (Jackson 1980: 20) and Easton Maudit (Charmian Woodfield pers. comm.), circular stone structures pre-date the rectangular villas into which they are incorporated. In both cases, timber roundhouses preceded all development in stone, and at each villa the stone circular buildings survived as long as the villas, with the southern rotunda wing at Easton Maudit later provided with a fine mosaic (Neal and Cosh 2002: 239). The strength of feeling inherent in such symbolic consumption that prevailed for several centuries may be inferred. Adding further to the association between cosmological beliefs and roundness which has been introduced, it was the case that a broadly round shape had characterised many Iron Age hill forts (as at Danebury in Hampshire [Cunliffe 2003: plate 1]), and circularity continued as the favoured style for many Romano-Celtic shrines and temples in rural areas (Woodward 1992: 37). This was notably the case in the tribal territory of the Corieltauvi (Drury 1980: 68), often with Iron Age antecedents.

Similarly, those opting for aisled buildings could retain their affection for time-honoured construction in timber whilst adopting (outwardly) Roman embellishments and facades, as perhaps at Denton (Smith 1964). Further support for this hypothesis may be evident at Winterton, where Stead (1976: 88) remarks on the 'curiously primitive' decision to use post-holes for the structural support of two aisled houses with the hitherto usual practice of using stone foundations 'deliberately discarded'.

In these examples the housing form made palpable and also evoked an idealised synthesis of past experiences, continuing beliefs and projected hopes. There is a classical clue to the possibility that Roman society could be susceptible to such "rosy", self-justifying nostalgia. It arises from the attention drawn by writers in the late Republic seeking to eulogise the origins and achievements of Rome and its people to the putative wooden hut of Romulus on the Palatine Hill (Wiseman 1994: 104; Edwards 1996: chapter 1). The Emperor Augustus incorporated the power of

respect for the traditional values of Rome, or *mos maiorum*, within the definition of his authority (Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 12-4). This reminds us that Romans were aware of, and manipulated, their pasts too. Perhaps the British examples drew upon a knowledge of this Roman use of their history.

Further research could take into account cross-cultural evidence which suggests that building materials can be seen as having personality characteristics, or an 'essence' (Sadalla and Sheets 1993: 167-72) that is used in impression management. Such meanings interact with the architecture in which the materials are used, and are affected by context, but nevertheless can lead to worthwhile predictions of user personalities. As an example, the personality dimensions associated with wooden structures are perceived as 'warmer, more emotional, weaker, more tender, more feminine and more delicate' than those linked to brick or stone buildings (ibid. 177). A similar approach to this, derived from ethnographic analysis and used to explain the Late Neolithic landscape centred on Stonehenge, recognises the materiality of stone as expressive of the continuing influence and presence of ancestors, with construction in perishable wood associated with the needs of the living (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998).

That the two examples quoted in this case-study are quite geographically defined may reflect a pattern of reference group behaviour linked to tribal membership and diffused by the fashion process, and imply a nuance of status display. Equally, they infer the use of self-presentational strategies through the medium of architectural consumption. More emphasis might be placed during site analysis in future on evidence from the wider use of material culture that could indicate correspondence between the nature of the buildings and a general conservatism in the receptivity to new 'Roman' ideas. There is a suggestion arising from these two exceptional building types that the prevailing values that may be recognised from the Schwartz Values Scheme (p104) are conformity (the non-violation of social expectations), and tradition (acceptance of shared practices and customs). Both values reflect the subordination of the self to the expectations of society. Using a model like SVS at least places the discussion of exceptions within a society in a context theorised within the social sciences. Understanding consumers in this way can help us to contextualise concepts associated with the archaeology of 'resistance' (e.g. Kurchin 1995) and the unpredictability and non-universality of change in Roman Britain (e.g. Hingley 1997).

4.2.1. Values case-study

It is possible that some of these value concepts are observable at Stanwick, a landscape study in Northamptonshire. The site is currently being written up and the evidence for phasing that follows was obtained (January 2004) from English Heritage (Vicky Crosby pers.comm.). The following represents a suggested application of the Individualism-Collectivism approach to societal and personal values. In the absence of a full report, and lacking evidence for portable artefacts, it is offered here briefly as a possible way of looking at the psychological evolution of a settlement.

In what was a late Bronze Age landscape, a grouping of mid- and late- Iron Age timber roundhouses was succeeded from the late-first/early-second centuries by a 'village' of stone-built, mainly circular but with a few rectangular houses, for which ditched enclosures were replaced by stone walls. In the early-third century two new rectangular structures were built on top of stone roundhouses. One of these was abandoned, but the other, a substantial aisled structure with an apse, was subsequently aggrandized with internal divisions, a bath-suite and two hypocausts. To this villa were added from the mid-fourth century a corridor, two wings, and from the late 370s, a total of five mosaic floors (Neal and Cosh 2002: 254).

Subject to further evidence, there is an apparent trajectory from what might have been the predominantly collectivist values of the roundhouse community (re-emphasised when the circular buildings were constructed in stone) towards a greater degree of individualism perhaps associated with the appearance of stone enclosures and the first rectangular buildings from the end of the first century. That this psychological evolution grew over time is manifested by the development of the aisled hall and later the winged corridor villa. In the terms presented by Triandis (1995; and p102), the personality characteristics of some households were becoming more idiocentric within a generally allocentric village. In the terms recognised by Schwartz (in press; and p104), those living in the most individualistic building, the evolving villa, were becoming more independent, creative, hedonistic, status-aware and novelty-seeking. In contrast, Neal (1989: 160) offers the explanation that the pre-Antonine changes to the settlement owed to the sudden influence of Roman control over the tribe.

4.3. Ancestral meanings and Roman villas

Material culture can convey status in ways which are not always overt, and the deterministic correlation between periods of economic prosperity and house aggrandizement noted by some Romanists (e.g. de la Bédoyère 1999) can be challenged. Many have not examined the implications of villa longevity and the possibility that with the passage of time buildings came to mean different things to later generations. Some villas evolved, albeit in phases, over a period of centuries, and perhaps through ten generations. Often there was no apparent development for decades. A simple house-wealth interpretation (e.g. Faulkner 2000: 71) relates periods of such apparent stability to economic stagnation with bursts of upgrading viewed as resurgent conspicuous consumption. This interpretation may be contrasted with the observation drawn from the letters of Seneca that villas built during the Republic in Roman Italy were little changed and still in 'authentic' condition more than 150 years later (Métreaux 1998: 2).

To demonstrate how status symbolism need not necessarily reside in the obvious, McCracken (1990: chapter 2) cites the so-called patina system of consumption which operated in the medieval and Elizabethan periods. Class legitimacy was founded on what constituted an invisible code evoked by evidence of the wear and tear of possessions over time. Such indications of age communicated genuine prestige, old wealth and honour. The basis was a 'five generation rule' (ibid. 38), the period considered necessary to achieve authenticity through gentility. The cult of family status (ibid. 37) linked lineage past, present and to come, and depended on patina to convey nobility. Although there are dangers in applying cross-cultural generalisations, it is possible that reverential emotions were attached to villas built generations earlier. One consequence may have been to imbue a particular family or kin-group with added social standing, another to equate prestige with the ancestry of the building and its originality, or lack of change. Equally, a particular wall decoration, mosaic, bath-suite or hypocaust might acquire iconic significance because it was old, serving as a direct connection with a founding or earlier generation. It is possible for villa facilities used collectively in everyday life to acquire and evoke strong and special meanings. They would serve as part of an individual's 'micro-heritage', with community possessions becoming part of their personal identity (Belk 1991b: 122).

A modern parallel may be recognised in the way we observe, or even assume, that historic buildings are haunted, often directly linked to particular parts of the house, or specific possessions (Miller 2001: 107-9). It is not unreasonable to assume that villa owners would respond both to the demands of the living for longevity in aspects of their material culture, and the continuity of the home expected of them by domestic spirits.

The importance attached to household ancestry (see Bodel 1997) is suggested by the villa mausoleum at Bancroft (Williams 1994). The excavators were convinced that its location related to its connection with ancestors as the site had been continuously occupied from the late Bronze Age to the late Iron Age. After this it was used for a cremation cemetery until the mausoleum, considered a 'status symbol', was built on top of the earlier houses (Bob Zeepvat pers. comm.). In a separate example, at Stanwick, a hypocaust was constructed using re-cycled funerary sculpture conveying mythological scenes (Vicky Crosby pers.comm.) and this may indicate an attempt to incorporate ancestral values within the house reconstruction, or at least to hide and protect objects with special meaning. This point can be emphasised if it can be assumed that the re-used stone was local because this suggests there may have been monuments of greater prestige than the villa itself. A similar situation may have applied at Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932: 26, figs. 36 and 37) where a turned pillar was found as a floor support in a hypocaust, the exception amongst a group of roughly hewn stone blocks. According to the excavators, 'it points to an earlier building of some pretensions', and its incongruity suggests an intentional selection and use. A more extreme case, at Beddingham villa in Sussex, involved the deliberate construction of a curved ending to a verandah that honoured in alignment the basic shape of a long-destroyed, but not forgotten, timber roundhouse of possibly two centuries earlier (Rudling 1998: 55).

Such conscious veneration of the past seems to have been the case at the House of the Menander in Pompeii (Roger Ling pers. comm.), where wall decorations date from the Second and Fourth Styles, a century apart. Also from Pompeii are examples of the patching of a revered mosaic, re-plastering which copied an earlier style, and the revival of dated designs in unexpected settings (Ling 1993: 18). The re-cycling of pieces of esteemed decoration is attested in literary sources; for instance panels of wall painting cut from historic settings in Sparta were framed, brought to Rome and admired (Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, 2.8.9; The Elder Pliny, *NH.* 35. 173). Ling

(1992:6) quotes an example of Augustan figured plaster panels piled ready for re-use but buried by the AD79 eruption at Herculaneum and also cases where holes in the wall show that cherished designs had been removed.

These are situations where an awareness of consumer theory helps to avoid simple generalisations. A decision not to build, alter, or decorate may itself be an issue of consumption and status. As such it is also an example of how the long-standing material culture of a villa may be said to possess agency and shape personal decisions (Miller 2001: 119).

Modern consumer analysis suggests it would be a mistake, however, to presume that such evidence automatically implies continuity of ownership of the site. A 'bygone object' conveys a special psychological status, unconsciously representing both a 'nostalgia for origins' that expresses 'a regression to the mother' and also 'authenticity', that evokes connection with the father (Baudrillard 1990: 36-41). Nostalgic restoration may involve the incorporation of a talismanic architectural bygone in order to symbolise a world view that transcends human mortality. It is the 'lived specificity' and mere survival of the object that matters 'whatever its epoch, style .. whether valuable or not, genuine or fake' (ibid. 40). The desire for such acquired 'authenticity' as a status symbol can arise in a situation where 'blood, birth and titles (had lost) their ideological value' (ibid.42), and perhaps examples of this can be presumed, and suggested, in Roman Britain. For instance, at Bancroft (Williams 1994), the destruction of the temple-mausoleum, and the re-use in the fourth century of some of its architectural stonework in villa contexts, is put forward as evidence of a change in ownership (ibid. 100).

4.4. Consuming the view

Domestic architecture can be appreciated as offering scope for status display, but consumption decisions may embrace wider landscape values. Considerations which influenced villa location probably included proximity to or distance from other settlements, access to water including spring lines, topography and soil type, micro-climate, site ancestry and cosmological beliefs. Additionally there may have been a desire for physical prominence, whether to view or be viewed, or both. The decision to appropriate the vantage point perhaps imbued such settings with added social significance by confirming the ability of owners to use wealth and influence to

command attention and respect, possibly by emphasising 'the distance and the separation' from other places (Purcell 1996a: 138).

A further advantage is that the desire for a view was well-attested behaviour in Roman Italy, and could remind observers of the proprietor's awareness of elite values close to Rome, or his/her use of a variant of these. In an urban context such as Rome, a person's profile and significance could be linked to the visibility of their property (Hales 2003: 43), serving also as 'aspirative fantasy of power' (ibid. 45). In the Republican city, the highest echelon would expect to have houses that towered above the others (Wiseman 1987: 398). Written sources highlight the importance also attached to a rural panorama: see, for example, The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 4. 30); Cicero (*Ep.* 2. 3. 2. and 3. 1. 2); and Horace (*Ep.* 1. 16. 1), and whilst allowing for possible literary licence (Bergmann 1995), also The Younger Pliny's description of the prospect from his Laurentine (*Ep.* 2. 17) and Tuscan (*Ep.* 5. 6) villas. In the fifth century AD, Sidonius (*Ep.* 2.2.11) writes of the 'pleasures of the view' from his Avitacum villa, suggesting that the preference endured. Zanker (1998: 17) argues that the new fashion for a villa lifestyle from the mid-second century BC embraced the view to identify with Hellenistic ideals of nature. Purcell (1987) understands this preoccupation with aspect as an expression of dominance over nature, the owners' mastery of landscape, and management of resources. In a Pompeian context, Clarke (1991: 21) identifies late-Republican 'view mania' and a conscious architectural response to exploit an outlook over the sea. Bergmann (1994) has shown how views of the landscape became an artistic metaphor in the late-first century BC/first century AD and also demonstrates that the poetry of Statius (*Silvae* 2.2) evokes a sequence of framed and therefore structured vistas as seen from the villa of his patron, who is consequently praised for his control of nature (ibid. 57). An attractive view was an essential element of the *amoenitas* of Roman 'pleasure villas' (D'Arms 1970: 47).

It is difficult without literary evidence to confirm the importance of such psychological experiences of landscape in Roman Britain. Certainly there were villas that, taking the opinion of archaeologists, were conspicuously sited with dominant views. The gazetteer accompanying this thesis draws attention to over 30 such references, including Brantingham, Cotterstock, Greetwell and Norton Disney, but also notes exceptions, for instance, Gargrave. Indeed, some studies (e.g. Wachter 2000: 49) have suggested that villas are most likely to be found in valleys or on lower slopes. Status can be multi-faceted and symbols of social honour multifarious and it

is suggested that the anomalies reflect a preference by the villa owner to focus on an alternative medium of distinction. In the case of Gargrave, for example, this could have relied on the effect of a six-acre double-ditched enclosure that surrounded the villa (Hartley and Fitts 1988: figs 22, 26).

Observations about views are inevitably subjective, qualitative and non-transferrable. As an example, it is difficult to apply elsewhere the words like 'great beauty' and 'striking' that are used to describe the location of the Gloucestershire villa of Great Witcombe (Clifford 1954: 8). Some excavation reports probably make no direct reference to the prospect because it was considered as having no relevance. Indirect observations about villa siting may hint at a view, but are non-specific. An example is Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932: 17), where the location is described as windy and exposed and a surprise given its positioning 400m away from a more protected modern farm. Similar circumstances may apply at Ravenstone, of which Graham Webster said, 'surely nobody would wish to live up here', the site being 'open to the four winds' (Green 1966: 39). Both examples are discussed further below. Ignored, too, is the possibility that a corollary to 'seeing' is 'being seen', and therefore that this may also have mattered to the elite. Consumption directed towards a villa might have been focused to extra effect if intended audiences could admire the setting from afar, but this is discounted as being of 'secondary importance' by Perring (2002: 145).

It is quite likely that there was an overlap between these perspectives. Conspicuous siting could be an allusion to the taming of nature, but equally a source of self-esteem. This could arise from an inference of power, real or symbolic, over lowlier, and lower, households within the visible landscape, whether non-elite farmsteads or lesser villas. As an example, Piddington could be observed from a plateau 2km away on which there is evidence of a large number of 'ordinary' settlements continuing from the late Iron Age through to the late Roman period (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.). Perhaps it was no coincidence that this plateau was the return aspect from the main public rooms of the villa (7/9). It is potentially the case that a villa owner could take pride in overseeing his/her facilities for agricultural storage, to be interpreted as 'abundance' (Purcell 1995: 169). It is also feasible that a location overlooking, or within sight of, a road could be construed as desirable, so as to win the approval of travellers. Brantingham looked down upon the Brough to York road (Dent 1989), whilst Drayton II (fig.11) was built in precise alignment to

the Gartree road (Cooper et al. 1989: 14). This topic is addressed further below and discussed separately in chapter 5, whilst additional examples are highlighted in the gazetteer.

Similarly, a location close to a navigable river might attract the respect of passers-by, for example at Barton-in-Fabis (Thompson 1951), Ingleby Barwick (Carne 2001), Piercebridge (Harding 1984), Stancil (Whiting 1943) and Stanton Low (Woodfield with Johnson 1989), or villas could even be sited right beside the river, as with examples in the Nene Valley (Wild 1974: 151). On the other hand, such positioning may have been a response to a river viewed as a god or a significant boundary (Braund 1996: 15, 19).

Another status-enhancing variant might be a site within view of a nucleated settlement as was the case at Norfolk Street villa near Leicester (Mellor 1981). Similarly, Greetwell villa was easily visible from Lincoln (Neal and Cosh 2002: 133), but additionally the status of its 'grand views' across the River Witham was perhaps intentionally enhanced, through expenditure, by laying mosaics in the 86m long east-west corridor (ibid. 176), itself probably a terrace, and a vantage point. Purcell (1987: 193) suggests that modifying a landscape was an inference to a villa owner's power to 'move mountains'. Such a consumption decision is evident at Cotterstock (Stephen Upex pers.comm.) where substantial terracing that will have involved considerable resources of labour, was a formal landscaping feature from the time of the earliest villa and was commented upon by the antiquarian Stukeley (Upex 2001: 66).

There may have been positioning of a house to be noticed by villa owners of equal, higher or lower standing. Jeremy Taylor (pers.comm.) highlights a 'theatre of social display' (fig. 12) featuring at least four inter-visible villas dating from the late-first century that are located on sites overlooking a stretch of the Middle Nene Valley near Irchester. Topographically the landscape is characterised by a large crescent-shaped embayment to the south of the river with extensive areas of floodplain and gravel terrace flanked by hills. The facades of the villas at Wollaston, Wollaston Quarry, Great Doddington and Earls Barton were structured so as to face each other, look down on two valley roads, and be viewed from below, perhaps across a status-enhancing landscape of crops and vineyards. Adding to the significance of this example of apparent social competition is that in the late Iron Age each settlement had reflected the wider reaching residential practices common to the area, with

enclosed roundhouses that faced south-east or east. During the Roman period the new style of architecture was re-orientated to maximise its visual impact.

Finally, it is possible that inter-visibility was a perceived advantage that could also apply to the dead, or could at least lend ancestral significance to a view. At Empingham (Cooper 2000), skeletons in limestone coffins were found 15m and 45m respectively from the SITE 1 farmstead (ibid. 14) and the SITE 2 villa (ibid. 19) which lay within sight of each other 425m apart across a valley. Both burials were oriented on an exact alignment with the heads pointing towards each other, a male in the case of SITE 2 and a female and child at SITE 1. Fourth century vessels had been placed in both cases immediately beside the coffins.

4.4.1. *Case-studies*

Fieldwork has involved the author in site visits to assess the 'view' factor from villas in the Upper Nene Valley. This project was undertaken alongside Stephen Young who is excavating the Nether Heyford (2) villa and has been undertaking landscape research in the area for 15 years. In a region already considered an exemplar for an intensively settled villa landscape, Young has noted one particular part where villas may in fact have been the only settlement type. The area to the south-east of *Bannaventa* and forming part of its hinterland comprises 67 sq.km. and occupies the upland (between approx. 60m and 120m OD) watershed of the River Nene. The field of study lies within a larger triangular tract of land formed by three small towns and two Roman roads that converge on *Bannaventa*. These are Watling Street, connecting with *Lactodorum* (Towcester), and secondly the link to Duston, near Northampton.

Young has drawn attention to eleven villa sites that he designates Weedon 1, Nether Heyford 1 and 2, Patishal, Bugbrooke 1, Harpole 1 and 2, Flore 1 and 2, and Harlestone 1 and 2. Of the total only four – Nether Heyford 1 (Horestone Brook: Morton 1712); Nether Heyford 2 (Whitehall Farm: Stephen Young pers.comm.); and Harpole 1 (Stephen Young pers.comm.) and 2 (RCHM 1982) – have been subject to differing levels of excavation and publication. However, recent fieldwork by Young, utilising a combination of aerial photography, geophysical survey, intensive fieldwalking and excavation, confirms the identification of these settlements as villas. Diagnostic evidence for each site, including pottery, tesserae and box flue tile, is

suggestive of occupational continuity from the late-first century to the early-fifth century AD.

Development of sophisticated villa complexes is manifested across the landscape during the later Roman Empire. The possibility that viewability may have been a locational consideration was tested by visiting each site on a clear sunny day in April 2003. The findings are subject to the unknowable positioning of trees in the Roman period that could obscure a view, and the proviso that two-storey buildings would in some cases have made inter-observation even easier. Figure 13a summarises this villa inter-visibility. In addition, many of the villas could have been seen from the roads at certain points, and some of them from *Bannaventa* and Duston (fig.13b).

A second field exercise involved visits in June 2003 to apparently high status sites in South Yorkshire in conjunction with Peter Robinson, Keeper of Archaeology for Doncaster Museum. These are featured in SMR records as possible villas, namely Clifton (partial excavation of a bath-house), Hampole (recent discovery of a bath-house), Loversall (finds of roof tiles, coloured wall-plaster and tessellation), and Wadworth (antiquarian record of a mosaic). Each of these has a prominent hilltop position, whilst those at Loversall and Wadworth are inter-visible (1600m) and both overlook the major Roman road from Lincoln to Tadcaster and the north, as does Hampole. Clifton can also be viewed from the navigable river Don (300m) and Stancil (Whiting 1943) from the navigable river Torne (400m). SMR records show that all of these villas sit in extensively cropmarked landscapes with known late Iron Age and Romano-British settlements lying close to each.

A third case-study, centred on the town of *Durobrivae* in the Middle Nene Valley, was prepared in consultation with Stephen Upex and implemented using viewshed analysis (figs.14a and 14b). This is a poorly reported area, but one he knows well (Upex 2001; and forthcoming). Reference to the inter-visibility between Cotterstock and the 'urban' settlement at Ashton has already been made. Subject to tree cover, the four villas (Upex 2001: 88) at Mill Hill, Water Newton 1 and 2 and Ailsworth had views to and from *Durobrivae* and each other, whilst the villa owners at Sacrewell could see (and be seen from) the town and also be viewable to and from the same four sites. Significantly, the palatial (non-villa) building at Castor was spectacularly sited on a crest above the valley with views towards *Durobrivae* and the four villas listed above, as well as being clearly visible to passers-by moving along

Ermine Street (1200m). Exceptions to the view hypothesis include villas at Apethorpe, Bedford Purlieus, Fotheringhay and Helpstone, all of which were isolated from other 'status' sites but will each have been visible as the 'big house' from nearby native sites. In terms of psychological dominance it may be relevant that the villa at Fotheringhay (RCHM 1975: 40, fig.50) was located only 350m from a native village from which it could be seen.

Whilst the significance of particular status criteria to each owner may have varied villa by villa, one clue that may serve to suggest the importance of the view and inter-visibility arises from the geology of the location. If the land is considered unsuited for farming, whilst acknowledging that this is a modern interpretation, it might be construed that the prospect counted for more than agricultural productivity, although it is possible that the site was chosen because good land would not therefore be wasted. This can be observed at Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire, which occupies a hilltop location, and is within 2km of a main road, but lies on clay soils with a water table close to the surface, with the result that the land is described as unsuitable for farming (Keefer 1997: 70-4). Equivalent circumstances may occur at Barton-in-Fabis where the villa looks down a slope towards the River Trent, 1.5 km away, as the unsuitable heavy clays have raised doubts about the selection of the site for farming purposes (Thompson 1951: 7-8). A further example is suggested at Upton (gazetteer). Similar conditions may have applied when the villa was viewable from a navigable river, as at Drax (Wilson 1963-6: 672-3), in this case both from the Ouse (550m) and the Aire (450m). The marshy, floodable area was not conducive to crop farming and a desire to be viewed from the waterways sounds a more plausible explanation for choosing an inhospitable setting than security from 'wild animals' (ibid. 679). This type of analysis on other villa sites may strengthen the validity of the claim that consuming the view may have mattered.

4.4.2. Theories of landscape aesthetics

Such evidence suggests that the villa elite might favour a view and consume through architecture to emphasise this preference. This response is being interpreted here as culturally determined but modern theories of landscape aesthetics recognise more complex considerations. One approach, known as 'habitat theory', draws on symbolic interpretations of the environment and proposes a biological explanation for the desire to see without being seen (Appleton 1975). It is argued that there is an

innate behavioural predisposition which arises from an evolutionary survival instinct in humans to appraise the landscape in terms of its 'prospect-refuge' potential to hunt prey and evade predators (ibid. 68-74). It is possible that fears of social disorder might contribute a more direct and obvious threat that enhanced such subliminal sensitivities. When these pre-conditions are met, the perception of landscape is pleasurable.

To these cultural and genetic theories, Bourassa (1991) introduces a third category of response, that of varying personal values. He refers to findings from brain research which suggest that responses to landscape could be both inherited and learned (ibid. 59). Personal strategies towards the environment (ibid. 110-9) imply an individual's creative ability to overcome both biological and societal constraints. This in turn assumes that cultural circumstances are propitious and that the individual who is inclined to be innovative is aware in advance of the range of possibilities to be different.

Such insights might help us to understand archaeological evidence from the Roman world. Appleton (1996: 250-1) shows how prospect-refuge theory can be applied to architectural interpretation. In his example the commanding views from some Frank Lloyd Wright-designed houses are interpreted as an intuitive strategic desire for prospect whilst the positioning in relation to a waterfall is symbolic of control, or refuge, in relation to one of nature's hazards. Such manipulation of landscape both echoes, but also theorises, the argument offered by Purcell (1987) that a view could evoke a sense of control over nature. The study of environmental aesthetics may offer Romanists a clearer insight into the dichotomies inherent in villa location and help explain why considerable resources were frequently consumed in order to subvert landscape to such culturally- and personally-determined rules. Psychological satisfactions arising from appreciating a view were perhaps deliberately, if subconsciously, induced. Consequently this would also foster respect, equally subliminally, from those viewing the viewers. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the Roman genre of landscape painting that incorporated distant views, and was popularised widely by Studius during the Augustan period (Ling 1977), may be a further reflection of this cognitive evolution.

Looking to the future, archaeologists may wish to consider findings from environmental psychology in order hypothetically to quantify Roman judgements of landscape preference (Bell et al. 1996). Such an approach, whilst making allowances

for cultural conditioning, might reveal the strength of consumer demand in antiquity for a particular type of view and therefore allow site-by-site comparisons. One model (ibid. 54) ranks issues like the ‘coherence’ of the scene; its ‘legibility’ or distinctive components; the ‘complexity’, which makes it particularly desirable; and its ‘mystery’ or sense of hidden information. Individual differences in landscape preference are also possible whilst the degree to which an area of territory has been personalised can be a guide to self-identity (ibid. 312). Scope possibly exists for villa research to take into account the study of landscape aesthetics when assessing the status and values of each owner. A sense that this consideration may have affected The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 2.17) is suggested by his reference to the ‘variety’ of the views from his Laurentine villa. These included the sea, woods, fields and mountains.

4.4.3. Virtual viewability

Line of sight, or ‘viewshed’, analysis makes it possible to confirm field-based evidence for villa inter-visibility and viewability and to present this using digital representation. Such analysis can also be extended to sites that have not been visited in order to assess more widely whether or not landscape values may have been enhanced through architectural consumption. Examples follow that apply to both sets of circumstances and are supported below by further cases that focus on questions of inter-visibility from Roman roads in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. This representational work was undertaken in conjunction with Phil Howard at the University of Durham.

There are, however, sources of potential error to take into account, and viewshed models cannot be used uncritically. To view or be viewed may have been a status-enhancing strategy that applied only in particular areas for particular reasons at a particular time, and therefore comparison with other regions is essential (Wheatley 1995: 183). Because of the variable detail of the real landscape and the inability of a computer-simulated terrain model to achieve the equivalent sensitivity that will recognise intervening humps and hollows in the line of vision, it can only be proposed that visibility is or isn’t likely (Wheatley and Gillings 2002: 210). Further issues in the field (ibid. 216) include the possibility of intervening clumps of trees, the clarity or otherwise of the object against its background, and having to make judgements about how the space, and the view, were perceived by the observers. For

example, a site may have conveyed an unknown ‘sense of place’ for perhaps religious or ancestral reasons and such meanings will not be apparent from a simply visual exercise (Lock 2003: 176). The risks associated with ‘cognitive determinism’ (van Leusen 1999: 221) aside, viewshed analysis does offer scope to make judgements about location based on the probability of evidence.

This is illustrated using studies of two further sites referred to above. In the case of Langton villa (fig. 15a), a field visit by the author endorses the opinion of the excavators that the site is ‘exposed’ and the corollary of this, an observable and considerable arc of view to the south, is captured also by viewshed. In a reverse sequence, the site at Ravenstone (that was also remarked upon by its excavators as unsheltered) is shown by viewshed analysis (fig. 15b) to have channelled views along a valley and this has been confirmed subsequently by field visit.

4.5. *Consumer ‘fashions’ in villa decoration*

Romanists may have been taking the idea of ‘fashion’ for granted to describe changes in material culture over time and space whilst appearing to presume that the implications of using the word are shared and understood. A study of clothes and jewellery in the ancient world (DeBrohun 2001) concludes that society was distinctly fashion-conscious, with evidence of fads, rapid change and conscious innovation as well as notions of correct and ‘power’ dressing. As evidence, she quotes the criticisms of individuality in grooming by conformist moralists like Cicero and Seneca, and The Elder Pliny reacting to crazes in perfumes. In AD8 the poet Ovid wrote, ‘nor can I enumerate all the fashions that there are: each day adds more adornments’ (*Ars Amatoria*, 3. 154).

Whilst agendas for managing personal appearance in Rome and choosing wall-plaster in Britain clearly need have no meaningful relationship, there are cases where changes in interior decoration, which otherwise can survive for hundreds of years, need explaining. Overpainting is relatively easy, and typically a previous pattern is ‘pecked’ to ensure bonding. Davey and Ling (1982: 29) cite references to two such layers in Verulamium, three presumed within the second century in the Catterick *mansio*, four in a decade in the London *forum*, five during an 80-year period in the Lancaster fort bath-house, and six during the fourth century in the *praetorium* at Binchester fort. Villas illustrate a similar propensity for change including Castle

Dykes (Lukis 1875:141), where three layers relate to a room within a bath-suite and Leicester (Norfolk Street), where plaster featuring two layers was found in the cellar (Mellor 1982:131). Examples of a similar kind are found at Bancroft (Tyrrell 1987: 114), Dalton Parlours (Ling 1990:156), Harpham (Collier 1906:150), Piddington (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.), Piercebridge (Harding 1984:12), Redlands Farm (Biddulph et al. 2002: 118), Well (Gilyard-Beer 1951: 68), and Winterton (Liversidge 1976:275). Four layers of overplastering were noted at Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire (Kenfield 1997: 200). Decoration aside, the analysis of particle-size composition in plasters and mortars can also point to refurbishments and three different plaster aggregates are suggestive of re-styling at Empingham (Morgan 2000: 129). Such fragmentary evidence of successive wall-plaster layers might of course be misleading; these sections may simply imply small-scale repairs or be a response to the problem of rising damp.

Evidence for such redecoration appears to be relatively uncommon, although plaster remains are easily destroyed and also evidence of layering may have been overlooked or ignored. Consequently, it may be that of the three underlying models for fashion change – sociological, economic and psychological - those relating to wider societal issues are least plausible. Instead, the decision may reflect the influence of a personality trait such as novelty-seeking behaviour. Possibly the timing may reflect what is called a ‘divestment ritual’ (McCracken 1990: 87), or individual action intended to obliterate associations with former householders. Earlier meaningful connections are expunged and re-constituted with new owners.

The superimposition of one undamaged mosaic by another may also be indicative of fashion behaviour. Little evidence can be quoted from the East of England but a case at Piddington is discussed below. Most villa mosaics in this study area date from the fourth century and perhaps there was insufficient time for a desire for novelty to emerge. In other cases undisturbed pavements may conceal evidence. In contrast, several floors at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Cunliffe 1998) suggest the likelihood of change (ibid. 71, 74), including in one case a later but inferior copy of a Flavian design. The issue of possible psychological obsolescence is discussed below. Further evidence for such a desire for stylistic change could be the incorporation of tesserae from an earlier mosaic, as was the case with the Bellerophon pavement at Lullingstone villa in Kent (Meates 1955: 19-20).

4.6. *What villa bath-houses reveal about consumer choice*

Consumption studies may enable us to consider the practice of bathing on Roman villas in ways which are more revealing of contemporary social attitudes and issues of consumer choice than has previously been recognised. This arises from the understanding that architectural consumption is reflective of human needs and that the desire to gain or maintain status, and express other personal values, can be manifest in building design and styling. This case-study will consider to what extent such inner drives can be identified in the archaeological record. Romanists usually apply the description 'bath-house' to relate to amenities located outside the property, whether attached or separate, with the concept of the bath-suite seen as integral to the domestic building. To save space, the term bath-house will be used below for general purposes to describe amenities for bathing, unless specifically explained otherwise.

Bathing facilities found on villas in Britain are often seen as indicative of the spread of Roman values. Frequently this is expressed euphemistically, for example, as evidence of 'Roman supremacy' (Haverfield 1915: 44), a 'claim to gentility' (Collingwood 1924: 62), 'advancing civilization' (Richmond 1963:113) or of 'a mannered place' (de la Bédoyère 1993: 55). Bath-houses are viewed generally as 'de rigueur' (Rivet 1964: 114), providing 'comforts and amenities' (Wacher 1978: 119) and proof 'of growing luxury' (Frere 1987: 261). Such provision is also seen as integral to the definition of a villa (e.g. Richmond 1969: 51; Millett 1990: 92; Salway 1993: 421; Smith 1997:239). An overtly social interpretation is proposed by Hingley (1989:21) who describes villa baths as a way 'to emulate 'Romans'' and would 'indicate wealth and high status' (ibid. 31). Perring (2002: 173) suggests they represent a 'desire to introduce urban amenities to rural life' and provided an environment for peer group mixing.

There is a renewed interest in the study of bathing within the wider Roman world. This situation was anticipated in a review of earlier work (DeLaine 1988) and has seen expression in detailed studies by Nielsen (1990), Yegül (1992), DeLaine and Johnston (1999), Fagan (1999), de Haan (2004), and others. It is not possible to summarise briefly a cultural phenomenon which spanned 1000 years and varied in daily practice from the huge imperial *thermae* of Rome to two-room *balnea* in the rural backwaters of the provinces. There is a virtual absence of literary references on the subject in Britain, but some general points about attitudes in antiquity towards

bathing can be made. It seems that baths could be a source of great personal pleasure (Dunbabin 1989: 31), and the self-indulgent basis of what has been called 'Roman leisure culture' (Dvorjetski 1997: 472). There was a propaganda advantage to be gained by those in authority from associating such enjoyment with the rule of Rome (Farrington 1995: 136), with urban baths 'show-pieces of a community' (DeLaine 1999a: 73). Bathing as hydrotherapy was linked positively with healing and hygiene (Jackson 1988; 1999), in terms both of prevention and cure. To bathe was an act of participation and celebration within the imperial cultural experience, symbolising an inclusive identity differentiated from what had gone before or was practised elsewhere (Toner 1995:62).

A complex bathing ritual is commonly described, (as in Fagan 1999:10), that offered scope to pose (Zajac 1996: 20), and there was the possibility of gaining the favour of the gods (Dunbabin 1989:12). It has been argued that the diffusion of baths was an index of the spread of Romanization (Nielsen 1990: 60), with bathing seen equally as a 'luxury and a necessity' (Yegül 1992:30). A consequence is that the individual might become more bodily-aware (DeLaine 1999b: 13; Woolf 2001: 181), and in the unaccustomed setting of a bath-house experience 'fantasies of upward mobility' (Zajac 1999: 104). In reality, however, bathing would reaffirm the social hierarchy through the leadership of the elite in bath-house benefaction, with their ostentatious participation in the habit viewed as a medium for confirming the continuance of power relationships (Fagan 1999: 218-9; 222). In the sense that baths represent the management of water supply they also alluded to Roman domination of nature (Zajac 1996: 20). Such considerations provide a context within which consumer behaviour may be examined in relation to bath-houses and bath-suites in the study area, and the question will be asked whether this approach can shed light on the construction of personal and social identities (*cf* Hill 2001).

Specialist texts in Britain have concentrated largely on military baths, such as Bewcastle, Caerleon, Catterick, Exeter and Usk, or those in an urban context, such as Bath, Huggin Hill and Wroxeter. An exception, now dated, is a study of 127 villa baths (Younge 1960) which attempts, unsuccessfully, to classify baths by house type, chronology and tribal territory. New work by Burgers (2001) examines baths as part of the planning of water supply to villas, but is primarily descriptive, including a database.

4.6.1. Bath-house variability

In layout, villa baths are basically all of the row-type – the *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium* in a straight line – rather than the Block-type (Younge 1960:8) which was common in towns and forts, but significantly some can be designated ‘complex’ (Burgers 2001: 82). Younge identifies such potential refinements as an entrance hall, an *apodyterium* (room for changing, oiling etc.), an embellished *frigidarium* (often tessellated), a *laconicum* (for dry heat), a choice of apsidal or octagonal rather than the more common rectangular cold plunge baths, varying degrees of quality of interior decoration (e.g. plaster, mosaics, columns), and not least, the actual scale of the facilities, whether considered separately or in relation to the rest of the villa. These ‘optional rooms or luxurious additions’ reflected ‘style and taste’ (ibid. 116). Rook (1992: 23) considers such variations a reflection of the ‘taste, whim or ignorance’ of the owner, and unexpected given the standardisation of construction materials. Smith (1997:301) suggests that villa luxuries, including bath-house embellishment (and mosaics and hypocausts) were a substitute for an increase in house size. Burgers (2001:80-2) correlates such variations in bath-house size and decoration with the wealth of the owners, but also to their progressive Romanization and a new desire, from the second and third centuries, ‘for the luxury of expensive baths’.

Such a deviation from the purely functional, cleansing and basic features of a public bath to include areas devoted to ‘non-essential’ attributes is seen potentially as a clue to the pursuit of pleasure, or *voluptas*, to be derived from the facility (DeLaine 1992: 259-61). Rooms that were individually designed suggest the enjoyment simply of ‘variety .. or novelty’. But how else might the caprices of bath-house aggrandizement be explained? An answer may be found in those psychological motivations (Sproles 1985) which account for individualism in fashions, and include the desire for uniqueness, to reflect vanity, the expression of ego or to display a dislike of conformity.

In Roman Italy the decoration of baths is well attested (see Seneca [*Ep.Mor.*86], Statius [*Silvae.*1.5], and Martial [*Ep.*6.42]). Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 5.10), however, concentrates on practical issues rather than styling. MacDonald (1986:213-5) notes the ‘experiment’ .. ‘novelty and innovation’ .. and .. ‘architectronic energy’ of bath-house design and DeLaine (1999c:158) the ‘creative

processes .. subject to few of the constraints of *décor-appropriateness*'. Such bath-house individuality, if demonstrable, offers scope to consider whether consumer motives may be inferred. A starting point is to propose that villa building(s) aside, the bath-house was the determining expression of site status and wealth. This argument runs counter to traditional perceptions that the display of mosaics mattered the most, particularly if they were figurative and imbued with cultural or philosophical meanings, or if placed in a central main room or in another probable context for social dining and receptions. Faulkner (2000: 134) exemplifies this view.

4.6.2. *Bath-house prestige*

A case can be made to suggest that a bath-house was the real measure of household prestige. This can begin by acknowledging possible academic bias. Despite the acclaimed civilising and Romanizing influence of baths (Tacitus, *Agricola* 21), there has been a tendency to view bathing as 'lower' rather than 'higher' culture (DeLaine 1988: 11). Second, an inference can perhaps be drawn from the price edict of Diocletian in AD301 which shows that workers in mosaics were not that highly esteemed. At this time the ordinary *tessellarius* earned the equivalent only of other mundane craft jobs, whilst the mosaic specialist, or *musearius*, was being paid less than that received by the standard decorators of walls and only half that of those who painted figures (Ling 1998: 133). This may mean that pavements were not that costly or time-consuming to lay, a suggestion which is made *contra* Cookson (1984: 120-2). Stephen Cosh (pers.comm.) suggests that a square metre of tessellation could be created in a day by a professional modern mosaicist, though it would take longer to lay figured work. A 1.2m square section of a complex geometric mosaic prepared for the *Time Team* television programme (Cosh 2000: 17) took 14 hours to lay by up to 10 people, constantly interrupted by filming, plus an equivalent period to make the 12,500 tesserae. Such time frames are hardly excessive, nor likely to cost that much in labour, especially if it is assumed that materials used for tesserae were found locally, and once laid, a pavement requires little maintenance. A further consideration, discussed below, is that many mosaic repairs in antiquity were poorly executed. Whilst this may imply that craftsmen were unavailable (albeit at a time when recognisable *officinae* were apparently flourishing), this low standard of patching hints that the status of mosaics had declined.

Third, and in contrast, bath-houses required considerable resources of skill, labour and materials not just during construction but notably also after the decision to build (Rook 1976, 1992). It is possible that an architect, engineer or an experienced bath-builder would be involved, and for example the hypocaust tiles required in warm baths had to sustain temperatures of 50°C compared to 20°-25°C for those used in underfloor heating, and this distinction required specialist knowledge (Nathalie de Haan pers.comm.). This included the continuing investment annually of an estimated 23 hectares of coppiced wood to fire the hypocaust (Rook 1978: 281), seen as the equivalent to the work of one person. This amount of fuel may also have required influence to guarantee. Support for this argument comes from an inscription from Roman Italy in the second century AD that shows how a public bath could spend twice as much on fuel as staff, and that this represented two-thirds of the overall income from bathers (Blyth 1999). The organisation of water supply would also have been complex.

The inference may be drawn that elite status on villas was therefore underpinned by the provision of bathing facilities, these being a manifestly costly and visible expression of their economic capacity and ability to manage. Such an overt display of wealth within the broad community would contrast with the ownership of one or more 'private' mosaics that would have been viewed by only a small number of peers. This suggestion draws upon reference group behaviour as a guide to the multi-dimensionality of status-seeking behaviour. Whilst bath-suites were used by villa owners and their peers, there were many categories of visitor who were not allowed to enter the baths, but members of such reference groups could nevertheless see the baths from the outside. It is an argument to which the 'costing' formula can be applied. For example, in the case of Norton Disney (Oswald 1937), the bath-house which served to integrate the aisled and the single-winged corridor buildings 'cost' £75,000, which was not that much less than the £105,000 estimate for the so-called 'dwelling house' which incorporated two mosaics (Jack Newman pers.comm.).

Finally there is the archaeological evidence itself. One approach to this is to note the possible relevance of psychological as opposed to purely functional motives in respect of bath-house design. This is suggested by two examples that point to the possible influence of fashion and decisions that reflect the contrasting drives towards imitation and differentiation. Johnston (1978: 78) notes nine instances of a broadly

similar 'utility plan' bath in southern England, each of which features a simple linear style with paired apses, and Walters (1996) draws attention to a west country fad for exotic structures perhaps inspired by imported designs.

4.6.3. Bath-houses and consumer behaviour

Such cases suggest that consumption considerations may have been significant, and this argument can be examined for bathing facilities at four levels: the construction fabrics used; architectural decision-making; the interior design and décor; and the positioning on site.

Building materials can convey an environmental symbolism from which a consumer's self-presentational rationale can be evident (Sadalla and Sheets 1993). Allowing for culturally-specific values, it is possible to make inferences about householder identity. These can include interpersonal style (e.g. warm-cold; intellectual – non-intellectual); creative expression (e.g. experimenting-co-operative; individualistic-conformist); and social status (e.g. cultured-uncultured; formal-informal). At Nether Heyford 2 villa, such impression management is suggested because the two walls of the bath-house visible to those arriving by the main track were constructed to a higher standard. They featured larger stones, which were better laid and were finished with trimmed edges, and contrasted with the roughcast walls that were out of view (Stephen Young pers.comm.). At Piercebridge, Harding (1984:13) records that the bath-suite was 'more substantial' than the theoretically primary apsidal wing and featured dressed masonry. At Great Casterton, Corder (1961: 76) proposes that a mosaic was laid down in an existing corridor specifically to ensure a 'fitting approach' to the new bath-house. Other examples appear to illustrate 'symbolic self-completion theory', or architectural consumption planned deliberately to achieve status. Acquiring the 'right' symbol completes self-definition. Two possible cases involve the addition of a simple bath-house to an otherwise modest third century timber building. At Hayton (Halkon et al. 2000: 12), the small four-room facility featured an entrance area, glazing and possibly figurative plaster and was a rarity at the time in east Yorkshire. Built of blocks of chalk (Taylor 1997a:5), it looked 'gaudy' .. and 'stood out noticeably in the landscape'. It is possible that this fabric was intended to imitate marble. Similarly at Haddon, a two-room amenity with glazing and wall-plaster was built close to a basic aisled building (Stephen Upex pers.comm.). Perhaps for similar motives in Italy, the modest *villa*

rustica at Crocicchie, north of Rome, was equipped in the third century with a small 9m x 5m bath-house that featured a dolphin mosaic (Potter and Dunbabin 1979). On a grander scale perhaps the late-fourth century owner of the Mosaic of Dominus Julius at Carthage, which depicts a bath-house as one element within a villa estate (Dunbabin 1999a: 118-9), was making a similar self-presentational point.

The consumer trait of innovativeness may be evident at a number of sites and is understood as the relative degree of receptiveness of individuals to innovations (Rogers with Shoemaker 1971: 27). Bath-houses are found on villas from as early as the Neronian period and became widespread from the second century (Perring 2002: 177). They can be said to have represented a 'discontinuous innovation' (Solomon 2002: 502) because of the major changes to lifestyle that they brought. So-called continuous innovations, such as a new design or type of pottery, by contrast to such discontinuous innovations, might cause only a modest impact. In addition their association with 'Roman' values initially emphasised the symbolic and not just the object dimension to this new idea (Rogers with Shoemaker 1971: 21).

Rogers (1995) categorises members of a social system as more or less innovative. A strong motivation for early innovators is to acquire social prestige (ibid. 213-4), with their further characteristics including an interest in new ideas, extensive personal connections, and a propensity to exhibitionism. Clearly such modern insights may not be applicable directly to the ancient world, though see Humphrey et al. (1998) as an introduction to the sheer diversity of Roman engineering, but it is arguable that status could be earned by owning and therefore enabling one's peers to experience the real and imagined pleasures associated with the novel idea of a bathing facility. Two examples illustrate the point. At Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994), a late-first century aisled house (without mosaic, plaster or hypocaust) was provided in the second century with an attached bath-house, which featured wall-plaster depicting marine life (Tyrrell 1994: 249). In addition, there was a 'sauna' elsewhere on the site that is considered possibly unique in a rural context (Zeepvat 1994: 154). Nathalie de Haan (pers.comm.) recognises a parallel in the late-second century BC at Vulci in Tuscany where the Domus del Criptoportico featured a bath with a pillared hypocaust before this type of heating was used in public baths elsewhere in Italy. She sees this as the use of an innovative idea to gain status.

At Stanton Low (Woodfield with Johnson 1989), a rural site even if not a 'typical' villa, the early-second century bath-house (Building III) was 25m long,

heated almost throughout, featured a complex horse-shoe drain, contained unusually early black and white mosaics, incorporated rare rib-vault voussoir tiles (such heated ceilings prevented drips) and was decorated with wall-plaster featuring elaborate painted columns/pilasters. The presence of innovative owners may also help explain second century bath-houses at Castle Dykes and Well.

The suggestion that personal identity and inner-values that were manifested as an expression of consumer behaviour could be conveyed through the inventive embellishment of a bath-house is not an argument accepted by Janet DeLaine (pers.comm.). She insists that 'self-esteem was intricately connected with approval by others .. with 'enjoyable' baths .. bound to be popular with family, dependents, peers, social superiors etc.'. Nor is the proposition supported by Garrett Fagan (pers.comm.) who wrote, 'I know nothing about consumer behaviour theories at all (nor) how they might be applied to ancient Rome, which wasn't a consumer society.' But criticism and scepticism are not explanations, and the question remains: why was bath-house aggrandizement so variable and not always synchronous with general villa embellishment?

The proposal made here is that they were personalised as much or more for private pleasure and not solely for the purpose of display, although the two motives are not exclusive. Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 6.5.1.) recognises private baths as among the rooms intended just for those living in the house, and into which outsiders could enter only if invited. It may be noted that the only mosaics at Piercebridge villa were located in the bath-suite (Harding 1984:14), and there were none at the nearby fort (Neal and Cosh 2002: 346). At Rudston (Stead 1980), the bath-house featured the refinement of an *apodyterium*, with this entrance the setting for one of the three mosaics in the building, a fitting but rare marine pavement, 'unique in the north', though not well executed (ibid.136). A suggestion (ibid.138) that the design owed to west country inspiration adds to the inferred status of the bath-house. A rare dado of wall tesserae featured in the bath at Greetwell (Venables 1891: 49). The probable family bath-suite at Piddington (Friendship-Taylor R.M. and D.E. 1989a) was small but in-keeping with the high standards of decoration found elsewhere at the villa and was of 'exceptionally fine' construction. Examples of elaboration in the cold area of baths are not uncommon (Younge 1960:43; Nielsen 1990:154), but remain unexplained. The only rationale offered for an intricate bath-house featuring a circular hot plunge-bath at Hovingham is unsubstantiated military influence (Neal and

Cosh 2002: 341). The trouble taken by villa owners to achieve special decorative effects for their private baths both internally and externally (and in the case of North Africa also to organise running water in this arid country) is viewed by de Haan (2004) as status-enhancing behaviour.

Constructing, funding and operating a bathing facility could therefore provide expressions of status targeted at others through the demonstration of wealth and power. Equally, however, the benefactor could underpin personal values such as the enhancement of his or her self-esteem that would arise from altruism directed towards the local community (Solomon 2002:123). This might explain the provision of especially attractive and thoughtful styling within apparently communal bath-houses, for example at Stanton Low (Woodfield with Johnson 1989: 156) and Bignor villa in Sussex (Rudling 1998: 61).

Where villas comprise more than one residential building, bath-house siting may point to the locale of highest standing. At Beadlam, Neal (1996a: 25, 42) takes the presence of a mosaic in Building 1 as the definitive factor indicating that this had the higher status of two winged corridor houses. He admits uncertainty in this conclusion, because there was an integral bath-suite in Building 2. Adding further doubt to his mosaic-centric identification of status is the fact that the pavement was 'a little coarse and poorly worked' (ibid.109), whilst the best painted plaster on the site came from Building 2, and in fact from the bath-suite (ibid.110).

The issue is less clearcut when an aisled house incorporates bathing facilities whereas an adjacent or adjoining more 'classic' villa building does not. Examples include Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990), and Mansfield Woodhouse (Oswald 1949). The traditional argument is that such baths were for estate workers in what is often labelled the *villa rustica* (e.g. Rooke 1787). In these two cases, however, the aisled houses also feature other amenities (hypocaust, plaster etc.), and were the largest buildings on the site. In the case of Norton Disney (Oswald 1937), the bath building which joined together the aisled and corridor houses was probably integrated with the former (ibid. 155), rather than the main structure.

There is also a tendency to denigrate the smaller and secondary 'workers' bathing facilities, as does Zeepvat (1987a:104) for those at Bancroft and Stantonbury. He suggests that people would use them for 'the minimum time necessary for their ablutions'. Such commentary overlooks the point presented through reference group theory that status could be sought from a hierarchy of membership networks, not just

social peers. In addition, as with cars and second homes today, there could have been a self-confident, irrational and conspicuously wasteful duplication of wealth that was used simply to confirm financially-underpinned status. There may even have been three bath-houses operating contemporaneously at Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990: 281) and at Castle Dykes (Lukis 1875). Such duplication or triplication of bathing facilities may have been an act of impression management equivalent to the provision of two dining rooms (*cf* Cosh 2001). In the case of Apethorpe (Trollope 1859-60: 101), the bath-house was incorporated within the front courtyard wall, close to the entrance gate. It would therefore have conveyed an immediate impression of affluence and prestige to all arriving visitors. Similar circumstances applied at Piddington (R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor 2002: 6-7), and possibly at Ingleby Barwick where a hypocausted 'hot room' was located in the courtyard in front of the villa and would have been the first thing that visitors would have seen (Dan Still pers.comm.).

Two further examples support the idea that so-called community bath-houses also provided scope for status-enhancing decorative display. They are the cases of Rushton (Middleton et al., forthcoming), where the rare violet/purple pigment *caput mortuum* was used, and Gorhambury villa in Hertfordshire, where imported Egyptian blue pigment was applied to the wall-plaster perhaps deliberately to harmonise with the blue window glass in the bath-house (Neal et al. 1990: 73).

4.6.4. *Hedonistic experience*

Reasons why a bathing facility might be central both to personal identity as well as status display may be better understood following an assessment of the emotional attributes of the experience. Whilst the enjoyment of hot bathing in the ancient world is acknowledged (above), academic emphasis is usually placed on the benefits of preventive treatments, hygiene and healing (e.g. Fagan 1999: chapter 4), rather than hedonism. In contrast, a *Daily Telegraph* report (14.10.02) highlights the attractions of hot and cold bathing, as recognised today, as being an improved sense of 'wellness'.. 'internal pleasurability' .. 'easing aches and pains' ... 'profound relaxation' ... and specifically with cold water therapy, 'a painkiller' ... and a way 'to help insomnia'. A study by Morris (2002) summarises the favourable, and inexpensive, results of bathing as being potentially both an enhanced mood state and a positive outlook towards the future. Significantly, given frequent finds of

fragments of glass from unguent and oil bottles within bath-houses (e.g. Allen 1986: 98), the research suggests that aromatherapy essences – in this instance, lavender oils – also elevate mood and diminish negativity. Assuming that the typical rural population was not constantly diseased and in need of a cure, these more mundane but immediate feelings of well-being could help explain the kudos, popularity and gratitude which villa owners could expect from regular bathers, and why the habit appears to have been widespread.

Although presumptions are being made about experiences in the past, it seems likely that there are basic and universal physiological effects associated with hot and cold water therapies. Support for this conclusion arises from a scientific study of Finnish saunas (*Annals of Clinical Research*, 20. 1988). This work confirms the conclusion that sweating is hygienic, acting to eliminate bacteria from the skin and glands (Perasälo 1988: 221). More interesting is evidence for the unconscious relationship between sauna bathing and the psyche (Sorri 1988: 236-9). A process of psychic regression ‘in the service of the ego’ occurs that displaces the reality and rationality of everyday tensions with positive thoughts and pleasurable fantasies. This ‘inner cleansing’ contributes a narcissistic dimension to life by boosting self-respect. Because such feelings are short-lived the sauna can become addictive, a benign source of improvement in the quality of existence. Viewed in such psychoanalytic terms the hot bathing experience is explained not so much as a mild enthusiasm but more a dependency and the basis for positive mental health.

4.6.5. *Bath-house fantasies*

The bath-house phenomenon may have helped bring about a more fundamental change to the nature of consumption in Roman Britain. Bathing evidently induced delightful feelings, enough to provoke the moralists and inspire graffiti, epigrams and inscriptions in the Roman World (Dunbabin 1989). Examples include references that link baths to water gods or mythological icons, and expressions anticipating the pleasures to come. The impression created is of the imagination at work. Users could believe themselves more sexually appealing (ibid. 12) and mentally lifted by the beauty of the setting (ibid.16), whilst owners would plan to create idealised bathing environments.

There are suggestions here of what Colin Campbell (1987) argues is the true dynamic within modern consumption, the ability to daydream or fantasise, to

anticipate consumption in the mind. Such psychic desires differ from Campbell's characterisation of traditional hedonism in a society, where pleasurable sensations arose directly from specific experiences such as feasting. Instead, the enjoyment is located within the inner-world, can be re-created on demand, and is potentially long-lived. The cultural ability to summon and anticipate such emotional, willed and illusory pleasures of anticipated consumption evolved, according to Campbell, from the influences on society in the eighteenth century of the Romanticists together with the diffusion of the habit of reading novels. What he defines as 'autonomous hedonistic imagining' is ultimately disappointing because reality never matches the idealised experience and such disillusion further fuels the demand to consume. It therefore places a premium on novelty, the generation of more and more wants. The contemporary sociological debate on consumption ignores the evidence of the ancient world but the apparent addiction to bathing in the Roman period appears to derive as much from excitement in the mind as to the meeting of biological needs. The habit lasted a millennium, spread to all Provinces, was hugely popular at all levels of society and may have been a daily experience for many.

Seneca revealingly communicates this sense of change and stimulation (*Ep. Mor.* 86): 'but there was a time when baths were few and not fitted out with any degree of refinement. For why embellish something costing only a penny and designed for use, not pleasure? But who nowadays could bear to bathe in such a fashion?' This appears to characterise what today is called 'hedonic consumption' or 'sensory consumption' (Sheth et al. 1999: 360), the use of products that provide pleasure, induce fantasies and stimulate emotional arousal. Susceptibility to such multisensory and imagined responses to products may be conditioned by subcultural differences, for example, an ethnic or religious affiliation (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982: 99). It is possible that a tribal variant of such considerations can help explain the apparent geographical clustering both of the simple and elaborate bath-houses referred to above. From the perspective of the individual it is not unusual for hedonic consumption to be accompanied by sexual tension (*ibid.* 98), which in the case of a bathing experience would hardly be a surprise. This psychoanalytic insight might explain the popularity of bathing generally. Sensation-seeking and the desire to fantasise, or escape from reality, can be behaviour that owes to individual differences, and within a person can also vary over time. Such circumstances might explain why the integral bath-suite at Bancroft in the fourth century represented the surprisingly

high proportion of 17% of the overall floor space of the villa, leaving only six rooms for all other living purposes (Zeepvat 1987c: 74).

4.6.6. *Further consumer insights*

If owning and operating a bath-house did represent a continuing 'cost' because it was central to a villa lifestyle, this makes it in modern consumer terminology, a high-involvement product. These attract considerable levels of emotion and commitment because of the special significance that is attached to them and the strong 'end goals or values' involved, usually of self-esteem and self-image (Blythe 1997: 138-50). Belk (1995a: 71) suggests that high-involvement consumption contributes most to self-definition. Where use is frequent, the 'enduring involvement' (Sheth et al.1999: 531) leads to developing consumer expertise, concern and care for the product and its enhancement. The emergence of such an involvement construct may be attested using evidence of the attention paid to bathing facilities, the seriousness with which repairs were undertaken, and in some cases their frequent upgrading. As an example, the complexities of water supply to baths are illustrated at Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994: 210) and on other sites by Burgers (2001). At Piddington the floors of the long-standing private cold baths were restored seven times, whilst for a separate bath-house a new hot bath with its own heating was added (Friendship-Taylor R.M. and D.E. 1996: 59). A well, itself arguably a major investment in consumption, adjoined the bath-suite at Rudston and was essential to its operation (Pacitto 1980). At Gargrave (Brian Hartley pers.comm.), a phase of bath-house alteration involved the complete replacement of *pilae* in the vapour-heated rooms, the replacement of the cold apse by a rectangular bath and the total alteration of the furnace area. An aqueduct of wooden pipes fed the boiler water tank direct from the hillside.

Inevitably, given such high and continuing expectations, there could have been consumption mistakes. A bath wing featured in the fourth century villa improvements at Brixworth, but its furnace was never fired (Woods 1970: 4). At Cosgrove the mid-second century baths were demolished after only a few decades (Quinnell 1991: 18). One of the flues in the small Haddon bath-house was sealed and never fired (Stephen Upex pers.comm.). Two hypocausts at Whitton villa in Glamorganshire, one possibly planned for a bath-suite, were apparently never fired (Jarrett and Wrathmell 1981: 79). Archaeologists put forward seemingly logical arguments to explain such contradictions that include changes of ownership,

occupation, financial circumstances, or the lack of a skilled technician (Janet DeLaine pers.comm.). These are offered despite the wider context of the overall 'investment' of the buildings. Alternatively, it may be helpful to suggest that what is today understood as post-purchase dissatisfaction may have arisen. Such remorse, an expression of 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger 1962), occurs when inconsistencies exist between beliefs and behaviour, resulting in psychological discomfort and possibly behaviour change. This can happen because the personal experience of a new product can be seductively memorable, but misleading, and viewed later as disappointing and a betrayal (Hoch 2002: 452). The modern concept of consumer regret (Tsiros and Mittal 2000) may have had earlier antecedents.

4.7. Imitation marbling on wall-plaster as evidence of social differentiation

The Roman elite understood the associations that existed between fine imported marbles and imperial power and influence (Blagg 1990; Isserlin 1998), no doubt because most of the quarrying and distribution came under imperial jurisdiction (Dodge and Ward-Perkins 1992: chapter 5; Fant 1993). Added to the complexities and costs of procurement, this degree of control ensured the wider identification of marble with personal affluence and public prestige. It was a fashion criticised by The Elder Pliny (*NH.* 36.4). In Britain, fourteen varieties were recognised in London, intended probably 'to attract attention', and used in interior decoration for paving, moulding, wall veneers and inlays (Pritchard 1986). Two politically symbolic landmarks of the empire in Britain, the Temple of Claudius in Colchester and the monumental arch at Richborough, both featured marble veneer (de la Bédoyère 1991). At Fishbourne Palace in Sussex one room was panelled in marble, others were veneered, some featured carvings, and most incorporated a dado of imitation marble wall-plaster above which paintings frequently reproduced slabs of multi-coloured, veined marble (Cunliffe 1998: 72-4). A main west wing room at Bignor, Sussex, one of the largest and grandest villas found in this country, featured elaborate imitation marble veneer decoration (Frere 1982: 149).

Associated culturally and ideologically with grandeur, ambition and wealth, the use and significance of polychrome stonework in Rome was increased dramatically by the 'Augustan marble revolution' (Schneider 2001: 4), becoming an Empire-wide

symbol of 'cultural supremacy and Roman identity'. Although marble, whether real or mock, could vary in its popularity over time and space in Roman Italy, from the second century until the late Roman period it essentially conveyed a status message (Tybout 2001: 50).

This context offers scope to explore the possible consumption meanings of marble-effect wall-plaster in villas. Archaeologists appear divided, however, as to the status implications of pseudo-marble decoration in Britain. Theo Sturge (pers.comm.) doubts that it was poor man's marble, instead 'just a quick way of filling less important areas'. A report for Gargrave villa (Hartley 1973: 2) notes that 'the painted wall-plaster did not rise above the level of imitation marbling'. Ros Tyrrell (pers.comm.) considers the dado zone 'unlikely to be significant since it was below eye-level, and sometimes hidden by furniture'. In contrast, Roger Ling (pers.comm.) argues that 'because few householders could afford real marble veneer, which is found mainly in public buildings, it is in domestic terms quite high-status. My guess is that it will be found usually in the best rooms'. Henig (1995: 64) identifies the use of mock marbling wall-plaster as 'an emulative drive' to ape social superiors. David Neal (pers.comm.) accepts this argument, drawing attention to its use in high-status town houses in Verulamium and Colchester. A case is now made that suggests that villa owners fully understood the imitative potential of the decorative device.

Interpretation is not helped by issues of abraded finds, contextual and chronological uncertainties, together with problems of definition. Specialist reports, for example, often use vague descriptive words such as mottling, speckling, spattering, spirtling and stippling; or streaks, flecks and 'fried egg splodges'; or veining and graining. Whilst early marbling in wall decoration could be naturalistic, later versions were more impressionistic (Davey and Ling 1982: 31), adding to the uncertainty of interpretation.

4.7.1. Consumer insights

Several villas feature wall-plaster that is labelled imitation marbling, although in some cases, as at Well (Gilyard-Beer 1951: 67) its positioning was unclear. A pattern does emerge, which, *contra* Ling (above) suggests that in many cases the marble effect contributed to the status of what were second best, rather than the very best rooms and to modest, rather than obviously impressive, villas. This might suggest an

artificial attempt to lift or enhance the importance of such settings, for reasons discussed below.

Marble-look painted panels were identified in association with a simple mosaic (Mellor 1982: 133-5) in a building secondary in importance to the main house at Norfolk Street, Leicester. Likewise at Godmanchester (Frend 1968: 25), the imitation marbling wall-plaster was found in the lesser of two buildings, with the main one featuring both tessellation and a bath-house. At Great Weldon (Smith et al. 1990: 40) the pseudo-effect was used in the corridor which had mosaics, but not in the main apsed room (number 4). It is identified in the small rectangular building (number 8) at Bancroft (Tyrrell 1994: 249), labelled a 'granny annexe' in today's terms, but of much lower standing than the main house. Liversidge (1976: 272-87) shows that mock marbling wall-plaster was found in all the main buildings at Winterton, including, significantly, the 'open lower end' (ibid. 273) of the relatively low status aisled building B, and also in the round building E (ibid. 276) which was overshadowed, in size at least, by all the rectangular developments. The small villa at Cosgrove (Quinnell 1991: 17) featured marbled wall-plaster from the early-second century; the example at Gargrave (above) was found in a room with basic tessellation, whilst others had polychrome pavements. It was also found in the bath-house of Wollaston by-pass villa (Chapman and Jackson 1992: 72) where no finds of tesserae are reported; and as a marble-effect dado in the hypocausted main room (1) at Wootton Fields, a villa with no tessellation (Chapman 2000:11, 23).

Such examples suggest that marble was being imitated in wall decoration in order to emulate the values of social superiors. Its use in secondary rooms or in not obviously grand buildings may be testimony to its ability to raise the status of such spaces. It is therefore possible, acknowledging Wallace-Hadrill's case-study of the aggressively imitative behaviour of freedmen in Pompeii (1994: 173), that such mock marbling similarly denotes vertical social striving in Roman Britain. This might also imply that social differentiation was mediated through a fashion for real marble at higher levels of the elite. Certainly fragments of marble, ranging from decorative surfaces to funerary sculpture and furniture, have been found only in relatively few villas in this study area and these buildings seem to be architecturally above the average. These special examples are Bancroft, Easton Maudit, Piddington, Rudston, Stanton Low, and noting its wider estate context, also Stanwick, although to be taken into account is that much marble will have been burnt for lime. At face

value such evidence points to the classic ‘trickle-down’ theory of fashion (Simmel 1957). The elite were differentiating themselves by establishing the fashion for real marble, which may even have required special influence to secure (Isserlin 1998: 147), with classes below copying the idea in a medium they could afford.

Consumer behaviour offers a further insight. Possibly the marble-look wall-plaster was intended simply to be fashionable for its own sake (Blumer 1969a: 280-1). This might infer a pressure within society to conform simply to gain peer acceptance (Sproles 1985). Such ‘trickle-across’ or horizontal adoption theory (King 1963) is recognised as the spread of a fashion within a homogenous group of social equals who have comparable status, ways of life and values, and is not concerned with having to match superiors. The villas that were using imitation marbling in this study appear of broadly medium size (i.e. not the most impressive, though with exceptions) and may fit this model. In one instance the popularity of a marbling technique, which incorporates lozenges of colour in the plaster panels (Davey and Ling 1982: 51), has been noted on six sites in Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire (with a broadly matching chronology for the villas at Winterton and Rudston) and may provide supporting evidence.

It can be concluded that whilst upwardly-focused social emulation seems likely, it appears that at the very least Romano-British society did display ‘an acquired copying drive’ (Miller and Dollard 1945: 217) and that the likely reward was status (ibid. 220-7). It should be taken into account that trickery and the deliberate creation of false impressions is recognisable behaviour in the Roman world. The deliberate copying of objects in cheaper materials in Roman Italy has been noted (Zanker 1988: 266), alongside the motive to imitate status symbols leading to forgeries, cheap copies and fakes (Reinhold 1971: 284). Cicero (*de Legibus* 3.30-31) highlights the imitative potential of villas; indeed the whole villa concept is a derivative of Hellenistic cultural traditions (Zanker 1998: 18, 136). The calculated duplication of artistic motifs, paintings, statues and even mosaics was commonplace in what has been described as a ‘culture of imitation’ (Beard and Henderson 2001: 102). Allowing for the intended satire of Petronius (*Satyricon*), the description of the banquet of Trimalchio incorporated mocking devices like a menu of wild boar stuffed with live thrushes, and the freedman himself wearing a purple-striped napkin intended to send up the senatorial toga.

4.8. Enhancing status through enclosure

A continuing debate centres on the purpose of the enclosures and boundaries that surrounded many, though not all, settlements in the later Iron Age and during the Roman period. Rarely are these features discussed, however, in terms of the consumption of resources that they represent, of labour and often materials, and the implications that arise. Typically they were shaped by banks, ditches or walls or (by archaeologically less visible) hedges or palisades. In the context of villa excavations it should be stressed that not all have been of sufficiently large-scale or a thoroughness to reveal the necessary evidence.

Until the last 20 years the approach to these features was largely descriptive and they were understood as having essentially a functional purpose such as defence, the definition of property or territory, the control of water or the management of livestock. Chadwick (1999) reviews how an alternative discourse has evolved within Iron Age studies arising from which inherent social meanings are now recognised within the motives to enclose. Ditches, for example, may incorporate an expressive "and experiential role when viewed as 'architecture' (ibid. 158). The delineation and bounding of space in the Iron Age and Roman periods is seen to reflect prevailing cognitive and cosmological perceptions towards the structuring of places, landscapes and lives (Taylor 1997b). The understanding of such existential space has to be interpreted within the cultural principles of the society concerned (Hingley 1984).

A commonly held view is that property or land demarcation would have commanded status through the symbolic act of preclusion, although this may have counted more at certain times than others, and it cannot always be assumed that the chronology of settlements and their boundaries always coincided (Hingley 1990c). Enclosure viewed as a display of social standing may have been emphasised in the Iron Age by the deposition of currency bars (Hingley 1990b: 98-101), or other artefacts carrying ritual significance. It is uncertain, however, whether such deposits represent the acts of individuals or communities, whether for motives viewed as personal or communal. Such symbolism of prestige through enclosure continued during the Roman period, with regional or perhaps hierarchical variation (Hingley 1989: chapter 4), with many villas enclosed by ditches, embankments or walls, or in the ultimate case, by other buildings serving to create a courtyard effect.

Other motives to define the boundaries of a villa have been suggested. Dark (1994: 26) proposes that unexceptional villas might be made more impressive if located with 'grand-looking enclosures'. Scott (1990) proposes that substantial surrounds and perhaps impressive entrances owed less to ostentatious display, but instead (especially from the third century) to a new concern to define, protect and oversee private property, although other factors could apply. Scott sees this as a response to anxieties arising from economic change and external threats. *Contra* Scott, the motive advanced by Samson (1990a) is the need to control slaves, outsiders and other social inferiors.

Certainly the differentiation of space mattered in the Roman world. Rykwert (1976) has demonstrated the fundamental significance of boundary delineation as a device for civic control, noting that there was a shrine to Terminus, the boundary deity on the Capitol in Rome. Walls were considered 'sacred' (ibid. 135). Ritual sacrifice and other invocations of purity served to consecrate the enclosure for the reconstruction of the Capitoline temple in Rome under the emperor Vespasian (Fredrick 2003: 199-200). Written evidence from disputes over territoriality in Roman Italy indicate the degree to which the differentiation of land ownership also mattered in rural areas (Dyson 1992: 123). The re-distribution and prescription of land through centuriation and the work of Roman land surveyors in marking boundaries would remind visitors to towns and travellers on roads of the importance attached to territorial demarcation throughout the Empire (Campbell 2000).

4.8.1. *'Costing' enclosures*

Examining the consumption 'cost' of such delineation provides support for the inferred correlation between villa enclosure and status. Two estimates have been provided (Jack Newman pers.comm.), one for a ditched system, the other for a wall. At Castle Dykes (Lukis 1875: 135-7), what was originally considered a fortified villa featured a 'fosse and double vallum' on three sides (fig.16a). It was approximately 15m across and 6m top to bottom, including over 2m hewn into solid limestone. For a 50m stretch a modern 'costing' would be £70,000. In front of Piddington villa was erected a 108m-long boundary wall with footings 0.5m deep (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.). It was assembled from laid limestone, was an estimated 2.5m high, and was highly visible to those approaching the villa. It is considered likely to have 'cost' £35,000. In contrast to the quality of this construction it is significant that the three

other walls that enclosed the villa were less impressive, being slight and standing only on the subsoil. Seen in this light villa enclosures may perhaps be paralleled with the moat in medieval society, a possible investment in security but more likely to have been a visible statement of wealth, prestige and class distinction (Le Patourel 1973; Le Patourel and Roberts 1978).

Comparable consumption implications may have applied in Roman Italy, for example at Settefinestre villa in Tuscany (Carandini 1984). The author visited the site and combined estimates from the excavation report for a length of turreted wall that formed the front boundary to the villa (fig.16b) with personal measurements of the dimensions of height and width, Newman's subsequent analysis of these figures suggests that the resulting 'investment' in a 44m stretch would have 'cost' £32,000 today. What makes this figure additionally significant is that the wall runs parallel to, and was highly visible from what was then the Cosa to Saturnia road. Its narrow width (0.55m) and dummy towers render it inadequate as fortification or as a display of power (Jack Newman pers.comm.; *contra* Perkins 2000: 186) and therefore more likely a manifestation of status through decoration. As town walls in miniature such walled enclosures may also have contributed a desirable sense of *urbanitas* to a country villa, introducing symbolic overtones of urban sophistication and wealth (Purcell 1996a: 132).

As manifestly public expressions of status, perhaps walls ranked higher for some owners than more private displays of their wealth. The 'costing' approach offers an insight into this at Deanshanger (fig.16c), where a 15m x 45m villa, probably stone-footed with walls made from timber frames and daub, was totally enclosed within a 76m x 61m stone wall (Monk 1982: 2). Based on a square metre price proposed by Newman to reflect construction that was part-masonry, and part-wooden, the house might have 'cost' a basic £150,000 (no evidence is reported, albeit in a much-robbed site, for a bath-suite, plaster, hypocaust or mosaic). The wall, excluding the stretch represented by the villa building itself may be 'costed' in excess of £60,000, assuming proportions similar to those at Piddington.

4.8.2. *Further consumption perspectives*

Consumer behaviour theory can offer further insights. Blanton (1994) suggests that external decoration strategies (involving all pre-entry elements such as facades, roofs, design symmetry and external courtyard walls and gates) form part of 'indexical

communication' which enables households to convey wealth and status. Using ethnographic evidence he identifies (ibid. 125) a correlation between strong, externally-oriented boundaries and more independent households, with weaker delineation indicative of greater community embeddedness, whether geographically or socially defined. He also recognises that households focus on external decoration, or their 'social boundaries', in a context of 'status anxiety' (ibid. 144-5). This might arise when a new source of wealth brings uncertainty to a community in a context where hitherto the definition of economic status had been readily understood and easily comparable. An added reason could be a desire by the household to communicate their wealth status within a wider (i.e. non-local) social network, and where new ways of expressing their consumption ability are required. Showing off an enclosure wall at a site close to a road might be an example. The closer knit the community the less is the need to display wealth ostentatiously.

If Blanton's arguments are transferred to the circumstances of Roman Britain they might carry weight in situations where villa boundaries are emphasised relatively early. This is an issue which Scott (1990: 165) ignores, suggesting instead that such defensive works were less appropriate after the conquest. A number of North Yorkshire villas emerged in the second century including Gargrave (Hartley and Fitts 1988), that evolved within double-ditches that enclosed six acres; Castle Dykes, also sited within a distinct enclosure (ibid. 79); and Piercebridge, where a stone wall settlement boundary superseded, and to some extent followed the line of, ditched enclosures (Harding 1984: 4). In some cases the sheer scale of such early enclosures led excavators to argue for site fortification, as at Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932: 26) and Norton Disney (Oswald 1937: 138). Although Oswald cites historical disturbances to explain the five parallel sets of encompassing defensive ditches, some of which survived two centuries, a rationale derived from consumer behaviour might be the need to signal status within a wider social orbit. The villa was prominently sited only 200m from the Fosse Way.

The conclusion that consumption may have been focused on enclosures on a scale commensurate with their interpretation as status symbols invites re-appraisal elsewhere. At Cosgrove (Quinnell 1991: 57-9), a 'new substantial enclosure wall' formed part of a reconstruction programme that also included the building of a stone temple and perhaps coincided with the destruction of a bath-house, possibly implying

a changing fashion in, or attitude towards, status symbols. Perhaps a wall became a more highly regarded form of display.

There is scope also to demonstrate non-invasively the potential of surface evidence to suggest that enclosures could be a correlative of status, a proposition supported at the east Yorkshire sites of Wharram Le Street and Wharram Grange. Cropmarks and geophysics reveal the presence of double-ditched and rectilinear enclosures, respectively, but sample excavation has amounted to only 0.03% of the fieldwalked area (Rahtz et al. 1986). Finds of plaster, tesserae and tiles appear to confirm the link between material culture and the social standing inferred by these enclosure ditches, although the excavators prefer more practical explanations for their use (Section 31). This apparent correspondence adds weight to arguments favouring a villa interpretation for at least some of several dozen similarly enclosed sites revealed in aerial photographic analysis of the Yorkshire Wolds (Stoertz 1997: 53,55). In Lincolnshire, based on both excavated and aerial photographic evidence from Walesby, Jones (1998) makes a similar connection between cropmarks which reveal apparent enclosures and putative villas in the Wolds but prefers to explain the ditches as a means of controlling stock (ibid. 79). Cropmark photographs that reveal the distinct shapes of villas at Cromwell (Whimster 1989) and Lockington (Clay 1984-5) also clearly show surrounding double ditches.

Smith (1997: 239-41) proposes that decisions to build villas across or parallel to existing enclosure boundaries was an act of social unification, confirming household continuity despite the new medium of building. An alternative explanation could be that the behaviour acknowledged the reinvention of the family or kin-group as consumers, and with individualistic values. Arguably, this involved the substitution of a status symbol of merely local significance with one that was intended to interact within a network of much wider importance.

4.8.3. Investing in privacy

An investment in walled enclosure may also provide a perspective on attitudes towards privacy. The stone perimeter wall at Piercebridge surrounded the villa and its yard and gardens, but the sight-line through its entrance focused on a large and prominently-placed stone roundhouse with the rectangular building sited to the northern edge. Smith (1997: 254) interprets this in terms of kin relationships, referring to 'continuity' .. 'seniority' .. and 'legitimacy of title'. The maintenance of

the circular house and the importance that its special location suggests was attached to it, may be an example of ancestral values being manifested through meaning displacement, or a harking back to a lost 'golden age'. At the same time the positioning of the villa off-centre might also reflect a desire for privacy. In a review of person-environment literature, Newell (1995) sees a link between architectural privacy, wealth and status in ancient societies (ibid. 93), whilst acknowledging likely cross-cultural and behavioural variables. A possible clue to this consumer motive is suggested by the positioning of the most 'public' villa reception rooms nearest to the centre of the enclosure, and which were perhaps viewable through the entrance. In contrast it is possible that the bath-suite served a private purpose because it was set tightly against the far wall, serving as a reverse rather than a frontal wing, and located therefore even further from the gaze of outsiders. Discussion of the social psychology of privacy is outside the focus of this study but the idea that 'privacy has always been a luxury' is a line of enquiry offered in the behavioural sciences (Schwartz 1972: 155). As an example, an important psychological dimension to privacy is the scope it provides to support and define a person's sense of self-identity, self-respect, and sense of individuality (Altman 1976: 24-7).

4.8.4. A future perspective?

Although what follows is speculative, recent neuroscientific research has shown that there is a specialised part of the brain within the parahippocampal cortex that responds to images of walls (and also hills) that enclose space (Epstein and Kanwisher 1998: 598). It is a physiological response that may owe to survival instincts, an enclosed space providing less scope for people to hide, whilst at the same time adding to a sense of dominance (Stamps and Smith 2002: 781-2). A specialist in this area (Russell Epstein pers.comm.) commented to the author that this region in the brain probably developed over evolutionary rather than historical time, and that 'its purpose was to assist in defining the geometry of visible space'. He explained that it cannot yet be concluded that enclosure therefore is necessarily a pleasurable stimulus because 'whilst this might be the case, we have not undertaken the appropriate experiments to know'. It is suggested here that such motives to enclose may not have been obvious to people, but that the added emphasis provided by architectural consumption through the medium of a walled area might have served to endorse their biological instincts.

4.9. *Window glass as an insight into consumer psychology*

The introduction of glass to window apertures on Roman houses is most commonly discussed in the context of functionality. This may be expressed in terms of letting in daylight and keeping out the weather (Allen 1998: 56), or how window panes might help reduce the need for artificial lighting but if too numerous could lead to heat loss (Bédoyère 1991: 26). For such reasons glazing could provide ‘some comfort’ in an aisled house (Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 147). It is possible that window glass also afforded a degree of security for household possessions.

Site reports, for example at Dalton Parlours (Price 1990: 99) or Bancroft (Allen 1994: 360), typically do little more than re-iterate the distinction between thicker mid-first to late-third century cast (‘matt-glossy’) panes, and thinner late-third/early-fourth century cylinder-blown (‘double-glossy’) windows. Techniques of manufacture of the two types are proposed by Harden (1961; 1974) and Boon (1966) and until recently have been accepted. Glassmakers Mark Taylor and David Hill (2002: 19) now challenge the orthodoxy that cast glass was poured into a mould, suggesting instead that it was flattened with a wooden block. They have also created panes of cylinder glass.

Curiously, there has been little discussion about the see-through qualities of window glass. The cast variety has been taken to be merely translucent, making it difficult to see in or out, with the blown type considered more transparent, but not totally so (Allen 1998: 56-7). It is possible that modern perceptions of window glass as simply a utilitarian resource have influenced archaeological judgement. For instance, it is mentioned only once, and without discussion, in *Roman Housing* (Ellis 2000: 147-8), whilst *The Roman House in Britain* (Perring 2002) pays little attention to windows and it is suggested that glass was used only ‘sparingly’ (ibid. 118), other than in bath-houses (ibid. 174). A recent study of Roman glass describes the innovation of window pane manufacture as a ‘mundane’ event (Fleming 1999: 30).

Admittedly there are considerable problems inherent in using window glass to investigate consumer behaviour. Unless found in securely stratified deposits it is impossible to date. Another difficulty can be residuality (Price and Cottam 1998: 8), and also the likely removal of much potential evidence arising from the contemporary demand for scrap glass or cullet, for re-cycling (ibid. 5). Broken glass, or cullet, was

sought-after because it was relatively free from impurities and would require a lower temperature for melting. Without reasons being clear, it is possible for broken glass to be moved and re-deposited in other contexts, as at Stonea (Price 1996: 397). Glass longevity can confuse dating, for example at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex where a find of stored matt-glossy panes in a late-third century context may hint at their survival for up to 200 years (Cunliffe 1971a: 188-9; Cunliffe 1971b: 367-8).

Archaeologists in the past have often used the word 'window' ambiguously (e.g. Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 138, 146), not making it clear whether simply a space is implied (which may have been closed using a shutter, or an iron grille), or glazing. The omission of any reference to window glass in some villa reports indicates that some excavators had their own agendas as to which finds really mattered and may not even have collected it, as perhaps at Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932). These considerations are compounded when the reporting of window glass is superficial and finds are not identified by specific context, as at Rudston (Charlesworth 1980: 125). In the more extreme case of Barnsley Park 'villa' in Gloucestershire, over 2000 fragments were found, but the distribution of these has never been plotted (Price 1982). Flat glass need not necessarily have originated in windows; suggested other uses may have been for horticultural frames, conservatories or for decorative purposes (Jennifer Price pers.comm.).

It is also difficult to assign a purpose to glazed windows without knowing their size, position within a room, and the total that existed, whether in one or several rooms. Only rarely is it possible to reconstruct a complete pane (Harden 1974). The height of a window from the ground is an issue affecting the possibility of viewing in or out, but the discovery in a Roman house in Dorchester in Dorset (Drew and Collingwood Selby 1938: 7) of a window space at 0.6m from the ground in a room where glass was found suggests this could equally have been the case at villas. Evidence of the glazing of the space between columns has been found at the House of the Mosaic Atrium in Herculaneum, suggesting a desire to reduce draughts whilst retaining the sea view (Maiuri 1958: 291-2).

Window glass in a variety of tints has been found on villa sites. It can be colourless, as at Dalton Parlours (Price 1990: 99); yellow-green, as at Frocester Court villa in Gloucestershire (Price 2000: 122); pale green or blueish-green, as at Bancroft (Allen 1994: 354); deep sea-green or olive green, as at Great Casterton (Harden 1961: 47); or dark blue, as at Gorhambury villa in Hertfordshire (Neal et al. 1990:

73). The idea that colours were created consciously for their effect on light diffusion (blue-green being the natural tint without colourants), and thereby the manipulation of ambience, is rarely discussed, although it is recognised that such colouring could alter the perceived experience of a given environment. For example, at Lullingstone villa in Kent the excavator notes the probable mood created in those rooms with mosaics that were 'flooded .. with a greenish light' (Meates 1979: 75), and the blue glass used at the Gorhambury villa bath-house was perhaps selected to tone with the wall-plaster (Neal et al. 1990: 73). The Romans were aware of the mood-adjusting effects that controlled lighting could bring about (Ellis 1994), with the management of illumination using oil-burning lamps viewed as an expression of identity and status (Eckardt 2000: 8-9). The sense of power over light and dark that window glass can evoke, and the contribution this might make to activities like reading and writing, could have carried prestige in the same way that was perhaps achieved by artificial lighting (Eckardt 2002: 15-6).

Such issues affect discussion of consumption on villas within this study area. No window glass was found during recent excavations at Welton or West Deeping; whilst this may be the true picture, it could be the result of thorough collection of the scrap in antiquity, or indicate that the panes had been removed for use elsewhere. Glass finds at Dalton Parlours are inconsistently indexed and analysis can be vague, for example a reference to 'large quantities' found in the bath-house (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990: 40). Finds at Beadlam are located, but only in general terms 'by area' (Price and Cottam 1996: 101). Certainly higher volumes both of cast and blown fragments found 'to the north' suggest the importance of Building 1, but the fact that it was better preserved than Building 2 (ibid. 14) could also explain this evidence. More scope is afforded at Bancroft (Allen 1994: 360, 623) where 128 fragments were identified within or close to buildings. Both cast and blown types of glass, 5 and 35 pieces respectively, are associated with the main villa (Building 1), but in the latter case predominantly in destruction debris or from a nearby trackway. Interesting anomalies are 25 pieces of cast glass from a small rectangular building, considered a possible storage area, and finds of blown glass in the villa's secondary building (8), an issue discussed below.

4.9.1. *Window glass and status*

Because glazing is frequently associated with villas it is reasonable to assume that its use embraced associations of status. Certainly The Younger Pliny (*Ep.* 2.17) appears to suggest that windows at his Laurentine villa were glazed. Some 18kg of cast glass were recovered at Fishbourne Palace (Harden and Price 1971: 367). In addition to such inferences, two consumer perspectives may provide a fresh approach to the question of whether window glass could convey social prestige. One points to a potentially more substantial motive than utility for using glass, that of mood enhancement. The other considers window panes in the context of so-called product complementarity, a 'consumption constellation' of mutually reinforcing objects, in this case, architectural, that would collectively express 'Roman' lifestyle values when in use together.

These arguments are underpinned by self-presentation theory, and research into the symbolic social meanings inherent in the choice of particular construction materials. People select building fabrics that reflect their self-identity, including social status (Sadalla and Sheets 1993: 175). Window glass can therefore be understood as expressing culturally-specific values, but also personality variables such as creativity, a willingness to be innovative, individualism etc. (*ibid.* 162). In addition, materials serve not only to characterise the owner but also to enhance the atmosphere of particular situations (*ibid.* 178).

Window glass may have acquired a symbolic importance soon after the conquest. As an imported new idea it was certainly associated with 'Romanness'. It is possible that members of the elite who were travelling at this time could have experienced settings in which glass was utilised, perhaps in Gaul or Rome. Deposits in Britain that are dated confidently to a period around the middle of the first century have been found at Colchester (Harden 1947: 306) and Verulamium (Charlesworth 1984: 171). Diffusion around the country may have been rapid, and the army may have played a part in this. Not sensibly transported over long distances, window glass was probably made in or close to most urban and rural settlements. As a guide to its possible cost at a later date, the Diocletian edict of maximum prices in AD 301 suggests that window glass was the cheapest type of glass to buy. At 8 denarii for a pound, it was a third of the price of finer Alexandrian glass that was used for decorative purposes (Barag 1987: 114).

4.9.2. Person-window transactions

Window glass therefore at first probably carried connotations of novelty, but was not necessarily rare or expensive in Roman Britain. What may have made a special difference, however, was its effect on people. Current environment-behaviour research investigates the nature of person-window transactions and recognises the effect of windows on psychological and emotional well-being (Kaplan 2001). Micro-restorative moments that reduce mental fatigue by stimulating the imagination to wander arise from looking out of a room at a framed miniaturised view, and in this sense can be a recreational experience and a contribution to the quality of life (ibid. 540). Equally subliminal may be the vantage point opportunities that windows provide to satisfy the probably biological need that humans have to identify places of prospect and refuge within a landscape (Appleton 1996: 250). Having windows can also symbolize access to a fuller and contrasting outside world (Verderber 1986: 463-4).

Such issues may help explain why the more attractive a view is perceived to be so is there a likelihood of larger windows (Butler and Steuerwald 1991: 356), and perhaps why wealthier people often have bigger windows (Kaplan 2001: 511). Sunlight penetration has also been shown to be an important environmental attribute through its contribution to visual well-being and to feelings of relaxation (Boubekri et al. 1991: 490-1), and the lifting of spirits (Leather et al. 1998: 755). The scope for a view through a window to provide such psychological stimulation as well as the sense of a more dynamic environment is underlined in research suggesting that even posters, particularly if depicting scenic views, can reduce fatigue and monotony, lift morale and raise performance (Stone 1998: 318-9). This may offer an insight into the popularity of landscape painting from around the early first century AD (Ling 1977), and why, in Pompeii for example, so many depict gardens and landscapes using the stimulating devices of fantasy and exoticism (Hales 2003: 156-9). The potential of this psychological insight is recognised by Clarke (1996: 101-3) in a review of landscape paintings in the Villa of Oplontis, near Pompeii, when he comments that the miniaturised scenes at eye-level would create 'glimpses of greenery' and serve as the 'sole spatial window' in otherwise solid walls. Depictions of landscapes in Roman art were widespread until the end of the third century (ibid. 100).

It could reasonably be argued that an aperture did not need to be glazed to provide these person-window benefits. Logic suggests, however, that for much of the year in Britain it would be prudent to close out draughts and cold air, and if a shutter were used then the possible psychological advantages would be lost. Indeed, it can be envisaged that such visual attributes were even more marked in a room that benefited from hypocaust heating.

4.9.3. Transparency

Recent experimental archaeology also suggests that Roman glass was far more transparent than has generally been appreciated (*contra* Rook 1992: 17). David Hill (pers.comm.) describes how it is possible to see objects clearly at a distance of at least 30m through modern replicas of cast glass, and 1km or more through cylinder glass. He believes that this understanding has not been appreciated by many archaeologists who typically deal with small fragments, and which often become opaque because they were weathered, de-vitrified, abraded, scratched or otherwise altered in the soil. He points out also that the see-through qualities of cast glass can be improved dramatically by smearing olive oil on the matt surface, a technique which improves refraction. Such insights suggest that window glass in Roman Britain offered more scope than has been realised to influence personal behaviour in ways outlined above.

That the effect of sunlight streaming through windows could contribute to emotional arousal may be a factor (alongside the reduction in heat loss) in explaining the widespread use of glass in Roman baths (Nielsen 1990: 18; Yegül 1992: 383), the visual effects serving as a contribution to the overall enjoyment. This 'hedonic consumption' (Blythe 1997: 40), appeals to the *id*, and subliminal drives for immediate gratification through pleasures of the senses. Identified as such sensuous desires of consumers today (Sheth et al. 1999: 360) are sauna bathing and the effects of strobe lighting. Whilst it may reasonably be argued that glazing in a bathing facility was needed essentially to reduce heat loss, if preserving the temperature was the prime consideration there would have been no need for apertures in the first place, and it is noteworthy that saunas and steam rooms today usually do not have these.

4.9.4. Window glass and lifestyle

The combination of utilitarian and psychological benefits might explain why glass was in itself a potentially desirable possession, but the further consumer insight of product mutuality may help explain its positioning within a building. This

interpretation (McCracken 1990) recognises that symbolic material culture is most effective when 'companion' goods 'go together' to make meanings more obvious (ibid. 121). It is proposed here that window glass could make a harmonious contribution to a unified 'Roman' lifestyle through its recognised influence on mood and well-being. This interrelationship would work to greatest advantage in those rooms into which important guests would be welcomed. Perring (2002:140), drawing on literary sources, demonstrates that in Roman Britain the main social environments in a house would be corridors, baths and dining/reception rooms. The last would feature the best mosaics (Ling 1998: 116), and the highest standards of wall painting (Ling 1992: 4), and were often heated by hypocausts (Cosh 2001).

This consumer interpretation suggests that an holistic logic may have applied to consumption on a Roman villa, with window glass, alongside other socially desirable role-playing artefacts, helping to shape the household's idealised view of itself. It is a harmony that owes partly to the symbolism inherent in the 'Roman' origin of the complementary possessions but additionally presumes a desire within the consumer to achieve and maintain this 'cultural consistency' (McCracken 1990: 123). Some individuals can be more innovative than others in seeking out those products that convey symbolic meanings that will help to redefine themselves. This may explain the early use of window glass at Stanwick in North Yorkshire, a site now considered the capital of the Brigantes tribe (Haselgrove 1990: 380). Tantalisingly, fragments of unstratified pale blue-green Roman window glass were located in an area with finds of tiles and mid-first century pottery and close to a stone-built roundhouse (Pam Lowther pers. comm.).

The implicit integration of consumption decisions on villas could have applied even though the categories of product were so different. A constellation, or cluster of products can coexist for reasons that can be functional, aesthetic or socio-cultural (Englis and Solomon 1996: 184-5). Examples of these could be the use of window glass to reduce heat loss, its contribution to ambience when serving to diffuse green or blue light as a decorative effect in a room with a mosaic, or its use to demonstrate an allegiance to Roman values, the more so the earlier it was introduced after the conquest.

4.9.5. Window glass case-study

Piddington villa provides a context in which such consumer perspectives may be

tested and the following two-part exercise has been undertaken by the author and its findings verified by Roy Friendship-Taylor, the site director. Thorough excavation to the highest standards has identified over 1300 glass fragments (approx. 78% cast and 22% blown), around two-thirds of which were stratified. First the distribution of cast matt-glossy glass was analysed, but excluding those proportions found in a central area of courtyard debris, possibly arising from a late-second century fire, and fragments from random outlying deposits. Using site plans of glass distribution, the totals for each type that plausibly were located near the villa's public or reception rooms were calculated.

The findings bear out the suggestion that window glass can be correlated to the most high status settings in a villa, and as such contributed to a consumption constellation. Of the total, 34% was found close to the integral bath-suite, 9% was close to or in front of the corridor, and 16% was in or around the main public room (originally room 7 but restructured later as room 9). Allowance should be made in this last case for the possible loss of additional evidence of glass close to room 7/9 because of adjacent quarrying. A broadly similar pattern is noted at Frocester Court villa in Gloucestershire (Price 2000: 122; fig. 7.6:4). Finds of over 300 pieces of fourth century blown glass reveal concentrations in or around the probable 'public' north east/eastern end of building A, notably in a ditch close to the bath-suite, (and representing over 40% of the total assemblage), the corridor (around 5%), and the recently-tessellated *tepidarium* (over 5%). That a putative kitchen (room 2) produced nearly 17% of fragments suggests an additional glazing motive of reducing heat loss and draughts.

In a second exercise, the distribution of blown glass at Piddington was similarly plotted. This is considered likely to have been installed at the end of the third century (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.), at a time when the villa no longer functioned as a coherent building, and coincided instead with what is called the 'squatter' or 'family unit' phase (R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor 2002: 8). Later in this study it will be argued that this was actually a period of emerging individualism that was characterised by continuing use of 'Roman' material culture. The distribution of blown glass supports an interpretation that the 'detached' dwellings valued the use of glazed windows. Nearly 90% of the fragments found in contexts that post-date the full villa phases were at locations in or close to five of these 'units'.

4.9.6. Further examples

A similar sense that window glass might help 'lift' the image of a house may be apparent in the secondary building (8) at Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994: 191). Here a modest rectangular structure (approx. 13m x 10m) featured a hypocaust, possible mosaic, imitation marbled wall-plaster and also blown glass (5 fragments), and it may be suggested that this also collectively represented a 'consumption constellation'. A further example of this may be apparent at Winterton. This arises from the observation, using the 'costing' model, that two aisled houses on the site (buildings D and B) may have had a higher or similar status to that of the winged corridor villa (building G). Charlesworth (1976: 249-50) records more window glass respectively from these aisled buildings D and B than from what she designates the 'main house' (G), and remarks on this curiosity.

A further example of product complementarity involving glazing occurs at the early-third century Great Witcombe villa in Gloucestershire (Leach 1998), where a combination of antiquarian and later work cleared large areas so that subsequent re-excavation (1960-73) may have found only a proportion of the window glass that had been deposited. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for the finds from among a total of 80 pieces of cast glass to be in or close to the most public areas of the house, namely the central corridor (rooms 14 and 16), dining room (15/15A), and in the courtyard to the east of the lower bath-suite as well as in or near room 27, the putative kitchen (Price and Cottam 1998: 105-6). Single pieces of later blown glass, out of only 24 fragments in total, were also found in the corridor, dining room and kitchen areas. To this can be added descriptive evidence from a pre-war excavation (Clifford 1954) which reports 'much window glass' in the hot bath (ibid. 19) and also in a suggested temple (room 1), where it was found in gaps between the walls and the floor (ibid. 17).

This introduces the idea that if window glass was an integral element within a consumption constellation intended both to display prestige and also to introduce a special ambience, then an additional favoured context might be space used for religious purposes. This hypothesis finds support at Cosgrove (Quinnell 1991), where during the second century both the villa's timber shrine and its later stone temple were glazed (ibid. 21). Two fragments of cast glass were found in the temple

assemblage at Thistleton Dyer (Price and Cottam, forthcoming). Cylinder-blown glass was found at the Uley shrines in Gloucestershire (Price 1993: 189).

4.10. *Hypocaust heating and the pursuit of comfort*

Uncertainty appears to exist among archaeologists as to the possible attitudes of villa owners in Roman Britain towards hypocaust under-floor heating. Unclear are the reasons why such a complex and costly system, both to fire and maintain, might be preferred to the use of braziers or open fires. General explanations that are used tend to focus on concepts of status and/or comfort.

On the one hand, hypocausts are considered an indication of 'wealth' (Hingley 1989: 31) and have been described as luxuries (de la Bédoyère 1991: 34; Smith 1997: 301) and 'household improvements' (Perring 2002: 210). They are viewed as evidence of 'Roman supremacy' (Haverfield 1915: 44) and an indicator of Romanization (Millett 1990: 92; Hingley and Miles 2002: 159). Owning under-floor heating reflected the sophistication of the 'true villa' (Rivet 1964: 114), expressed 'aspirations' (de la Bédoyère 1993: 62) and would 'arouse a desire to emulate' (Alcock 1996: 67). Their identification with status possibly arises indirectly from a tendency to find hypocausts associated with villa living-rooms (Collingwood 1934: 82), reception areas (Perring 2002: 167), and particularly winter dining *triclinia*, whether these were purpose-designed or not (Cosh 2001: 231-2). Bedrooms used for reception activities might also be heated (Perring 2002: 191).

To be taken into account is the possibility that some post-war archaeologists have been influenced by the contemporary association between central heating and social prestige. It may also be the case that analysis has been distorted because the robust remains of heating channels, *pilae*, furnaces and stoke holes tend to survive, and still look impressive, whereas more subtle evidence for open-hearths and fireplaces is more easily lost (but see Johnston 1978: 82-8), as can be floor staining caused by portable braziers (but see Black 1985: 89). A classification of hypocausts has been proposed (Black 1985), together with a simplified chronology which begins with a small Flavian example at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex and recognises diffusion around Britain from the mid-second century, beginning with the pillared form and followed later by composite and channelled types. Illustrations of stylistic variations on these basic types (Black 1985: fig.4; Cosh 2001: fig.7) remind us that whilst a

functional explanation for such diversity might apply, it may equally be the case that personality variables were an influence, notably the desire of the villa owner to be different, and advising his architect(?) accordingly.

Just as it has been shown that the word status can be applied without rigour, so can the idea of comfort be presumed in an uncritical way. It is a motive often used to explain the desire for warmth that hypocausts could provide (see, for example, Rook 1992: 14-16; Humphrey et al. 1998: 273; Huskinson 2002: 129). The facility was a 'creature comfort' (McKay 1975: 195) that a 'grandee' would light 'against the evening chill' (Faulkner 2000: 135). Literary references (reviewed by Black 1985: 78-9) do not convey an unequivocal answer. Winters in Roman Italy were potentially severe (see The Younger Pliny: *Ep.* 5.6), but classical writers do not make it clear whether status or comfort mattered most to those with hypocausts, or if they were of equivalent importance. For example, with apparent pride Pliny refers to the under-floor heating at his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17) and Statius (*Silvae*, 1.5) describes the 'delicate warmth' of the hypocaust, but in contrast Sidonius extols the log-fire in the home of a friend (*Carmina*, 22.188).

4.10.1. *Attitudes towards heating*

Visual evidence suggests that the attitudes of owners towards the heating of villas in this study area varied significantly. A hypocaust was incorporated at Mileoak in the first century (Green and Draper 1978: 40) and no doubt communicated status by virtue of its then innovative qualities. In contrast the large aisled house at Denton still featured only an open central hearth in the late-fourth century (Smith 1964: 92) despite investment in other amenities, including mosaics and a detached bath-house. Such a traditional approach to heating may contribute to the argument that aisled villas conveyed displaced meanings for some, keeping ancestral values alive. Different again are the circumstances at the much smaller Drayton II aisled villa where at least eight rooms were hypocausted at times between the second and fourth centuries (Connor 1993:7). At Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994) the contradictions are even more marked. From the mid-fourth century the main house (building 1) featured internal and external bath-suites and mosaics virtually throughout, yet only one room (8) was hypocausted. This was neither the largest nor the most public and central room, and the heating was in fact closed down when a corridor was constructed (ibid. 175). Curious also is the incorporation of a hypocaust nearby in the modest 10m x

13m building 8 (ibid. 191). Similarly complex is the picture at Norton Disney (Oswald 1937), where the winged corridor 'dwelling house' had no hypocaust but one was introduced in the fourth century in the southern corridor of the large aisled building sited at rectangles to it. A rudimentary hypocaust in the villa at Carsington (Ling and Courtney 1981: 72-3) is suggestive of the basic motive for comfort in this Pennine location in the absence of a social network of other villa owners to impress. Difficult also to explain are the circumstances at the large-scale Winterton villa, where there were virtually no domestic rooms with a hypocaust, and certainly none in those that featured mosaics and ought therefore to have been prestigious (Stead 1976: 91).

4.10.2. Hypocausts from a consumer perspective

Consumption perspectives provide opportunities to explore this issue more objectively. The starting point would be to attempt to assess whether owning a hypocaust and having control of temperature reflected a preference for personal comfort for the household concerned, or a desire for recognition, and status in the eyes of a public audience, or a varying proportion of each. This might provide an insight into whether under-floor heating was viewed as a necessity or as a luxury, or varying degrees of both. Comfort is a topic that should be discussed more critically (Crowley 2001: ix). Crowley observes that superficial observations arise from anachronistic subjectivity, the circular argument that comforts (in this case, hypocausts) were invented and became popular because people wanted to be more comfortable, and not least the insight that even today architects are unable to define, design or construct to a standardised or consistent interpretation of comfort.

The desire for warmth may be recognised as an innate human need, driven by discomfort. It becomes a want, however, with psychological determinants, when resources are directed towards providing a solution above the minimum possible cost (Sheth et al. 1999: 41-2). Through a process of 'self-alteration', a fundamental need has been converted into a 'false need' that is socially produced and accepted (Thomson 1987: 23-31). Such artificial or acquired needs are recognised (after Maslow) as multi-dimensional. For example, one classification (Foxall and Goldsmith 1994: 167-9) recognises these potentially as being physiological (i.e. utilitarian), social (expressing class belonging), symbolic (identification with preferred values), hedonistic (offering sensory qualities), cognitive (meeting a desire

to learn) and experiential (stimulating desired emotions). Any single act of consumption can satisfy some or all of these wants, and intuitively, it seems likely that this could have been the case with hypocausts.

One complication that is identified by neurophysiologists and psychologists, is that the concepts of discomfort and pleasure are not different points on a continuum (Scitovsky 1976: 59-79). Instead they are best understood as a paradox, that it is only the changes in arousal and stimulation necessary to end the discomfort that actually brings about pleasure. Too much satisfaction therefore reduces the stimulation that is the basis of pleasure. Is it possible that the constant background heat of a hypocaust provided less psychological reward, because arousal was reduced, than the more challenging and risky circumstances of managing an open fire? The greater the previous discomfort, perhaps, the more intense the pleasure when the hearth or brazier was lit. Too much comfort can be an anticlimax, an insight known by psychiatrists as the Law of Hedonic Contrast (ibid.62). The heating effects of the hypocaust will have been understood by the elite but the 'pleasure-comfort balance' (Hirschman 1982: 33-5) was perhaps not found sufficiently convincing because of the inherently disappointing levels of stimulation.

Certainly such apparent irrationality could explain the minimal presence of hypocausts in otherwise luxurious buildings. It is also a more substantial argument for the near absence of hypocausts at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex (Cunliffe 1998: 76) than the suggestion that the architect was 'unused to designing for the British climate'. It is possible to infer that central heating was viewed as mind-deadeningly boring, leaving no scope for the more exciting qualities of an open fire.

4.10.3. Hypocaust case-study

An alternative consumer approach, using the 'costing' formula, can attempt to assess what proportion of the investment in the overall structure of a building at a given time was represented by expenditure on hypocaust heating. This exercise is intended only to suggest the potential for further work. Six villas have been selected intentionally to highlight the complexities involved in judging whether comfort and/or status were the motives for such installations. The case-study will use only two statistics, the 'cost' of the (apparent) main building in each case (assessed @ £285 per sq.m.), and the additional 'cost' of the hypocaust (@ £50 sq.m.) but will represent findings as percentages only. Whilst the figures relate in each case to a single phase there are

inevitable complications over the precise chronological relationships and the possibility that some hypocausts were not completed (as at Beadlam [Neal 1996a: 20-1]) or were closed down (Bancroft, above). Also the estimates do not allow for the possibly different resources used to construct alternative types of hypocaust nor take into account the expenditure on wall-plaster and tessellation likely to have featured in hypocausted rooms.

Interesting contrasts emerge from the following approximate percentages. At Easton Maudit (Woodfield and Woodfield 1994), a small 5m x 4m hypocaust was inserted in the mid-second century (and possibly replaced 20 years later) and represents under 0.5% of what was a major investment in the building. The equivalent proportion in the fourth century at Beadlam (Neal 1996) for hypocausted room 2 in building 1 is 1%. At Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994), the corresponding figure for the mid-fourth century for room 8 in building 1 is 2%. For Piddington (R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor 1989a: 2-3) the hypocausted room 9 accounted for 2.7% of the late-second century asset value of the main range.

Two smaller villas offer a different perspective. Drayton II (Whatley 1998; 'costing' case-study [p45]; Appendix 4) shows that hypocaust 'costs' in percentage terms rose from 2.1% in phase 1 (mid- to late-second century) to 3.5% in phase 2 (late-second to mid-third century), to 5.1% (mid-third to mid-fourth century). In the first of two fourth-century phases at Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932) hypocausts in rooms 1 and 5 represented 5.3% of the 'cost' of the building. Although the building was then extended with two wings (both hypocausted) and a verandah, the proportion remains at over 5% and could be higher as some uncertainty exists (*ibid.* 19-21) as to whether hypocaust 1 continued to be used.

It can fairly be argued that a hypocausted room is bound to represent a higher percentage of overall investment in smaller buildings (i.e. Drayton II and Langton) as opposed to a larger building. On the other hand, in both cases the actual sums invested (in the final phases) can be shown to be absolutely higher, too. This suggests that to have underfloor heating mattered more to the owners in these smaller villas because logically open fires or braziers would arguably heat a lesser space more efficiently than they would in larger buildings. It is perhaps the case that hypocausts could offer more prestige to a smaller rather than a larger building where perhaps the scale made the biggest statement. A further curiosity is that five of the six villas had bath-houses (one has not been found at Easton Maudit, but only the main range has

been excavated), and so the costs and complexities of firing such an amenity could not have been an issue.

It may not be sufficient for archaeologists to argue simply that a hypocaust stood for status or that it was therefore a desirable comfort. When 'materialistic' villas like Bancroft, Piddington or Winterton do not install them proportionately to the scale of these properties, whereas simpler buildings like Carsington and Empingham do, the motives are obviously more complex. A more precise interpretation requires a larger data set and should take into account the probable use of the room(s) concerned. To allow for fashion considerations, such work might also make comparisons by century.

4.11. Mosaics and the psychology of personal reinvention

Two imbalances at the heart of mosaic studies have made the consideration of pavements in terms of consumer behaviour a particularly sensitive issue. The first is the production-centric bias of much analysis. Neal and Cosh (2002: 20-9) summarise a process that began with pioneering research in the 1960s by David Smith in recognising regional 'schools' of craftsmen which executed similar styles to comparable standards. This has led subsequently to much debate examining 'traditions', 'workshops' and 'groups'. Whilst the possibility of 'special requests' by villa owners is recognised (Smith 1969: 82), study has concentrated on 'the men who made them .. their methods .. and the way in which their craft was organised' (ibid. 95). Two sets of motives apply: archaeologists are interested in mosaics as artefacts with the similarities in style and motifs helping with dating in the same way as pottery does; art historians are interested more in the artist than the patron who commissioned the work.

Typically the emphasis is placed on trying to attribute particular pavements to the influence of a team of mosaicists working at a specific time, or even to attempt to identify a design with a particular individual. The result is a tendency to view resemblances and variations as the decision of artisans, not the consumers (i.e. patrons) and therefore as a function more of supply than demand. One mosaic scholar to whom the author spoke refuses to countenance the value of discussing owner choice on the grounds that 'it will get us nowhere' (Susan Tebby pers.comm.). The second area of contradiction may be an outcome of the personal preferences of

those who dominate mosaic scholarship. Disproportionate attention focuses on a small number (around 5%) of the 1500 or so pavements discovered in Roman Britain that depict mythological themes, the interpretation of which requires a knowledge of the classics, both in the past – and also the present. It is therefore no accident that illustrations of pictorial mosaics in *Ancient Mosaics* (Ling 1998) outnumber geometric examples by more than 10 to 1. Whilst geometric pavements are examined thoroughly in respect of their grid patterns and recurring motifs (e.g. Tebby 1994) they are rarely discussed in terms of what they might have meant to owners, (but for an exception, see Henig 1995: 152). They remain consigned, literally and metaphorically, to ‘second-rank’ rooms (Ling 1996: 16).

A separate study might re-assess how mosaics have gone from being the equivalent of a ‘carpet’ (Collingwood 1924: 61-2) to a seemingly elitist facet of art history that appeals ‘to our educated taste for the world of classical literature and thought’ (Ling 1998: 135). A sense of condescension towards ‘dirt archaeologists’ is conveyed in recent remarks by art historian Martin Henig (2003: 221). One explanation for such attitudes could be that knowledge of elite art is considered a correlative marker of being upper-class in society today; note the choice made by Prince William to read art history at university. In contemporary mosaic studies it is possible that an unconscious identification has been made between refinement, intellectual sophistication and social prestige.

The result could be subjectivity and a tendency to judge pavements not as possessions or as expressions of decisions to consume, but only in the single dimensional and highbrow terms of their workmanship and artistic quality (e.g. Neal and Cosh 2002: 8-9). An example which suggests that such a narrow viewpoint has been taken is Great Staughton (Smith 1994: 91-6). Disproportionate attention in the villa report (nearly three pages) focuses on the three mosaics in the classically symmetrical winged corridor villa (building 1) compared to less than a quarter of a page allocated to the five (or possibly more) pavements in the partially excavated building 2. The latter was constructed originally as a bath-house to which a corridor and wings were added, and it may be the view of the excavators that this was therefore a lesser environment for tessellation. Admittedly two of the three pavements in building 1 were the best on the site, but unexplained is why the central room (usually a prime public area) behind the corridor only had a floor of ‘workaday standard’ (ibid. 96). Looked at from a consumption, as opposed to an art history

perspective (an issue addressed below), the circumstances of building 2 deserve more attention, if only from the basic criterion that more of its rooms had been paved (and several of them with the added cost of hypocausts), and this enhances the consumption aspect of the structure.

This may be a case, where, to quote Bourdieu (1984: 6) ‘taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier’. It may be that a devotion to pure ‘taste’ has clouded the judgement of some archaeologists more than was originally the case for the villa owner. It is interesting that art historians do not satisfactorily explain why mosaics should carry such overtones of status when Diocletian’s edict on prices of AD301 shows that mosaicists were paid less than the wages of wall painters (Ling 1998: 133). A further reason why mosaics may receive disproportionate attention, and therefore an inferred importance, owes to their tendency to survive better than wall-plaster decoration.

4.11.1. Consumption language inadvertently used

These two apparent predispositions aside, it will be suggested below that archaeologists nevertheless allude to consumer behaviour in their interpretation of mosaics. In particular they take the view, without recognising this as a defining characteristic of modern consumption, that cultural meanings were summoned, combined and invested in pavements in the creation of personal and collective identity. This perspective was not, however, appreciated by the specialist (Susan Walker pers.comm.) who wrote to the author ‘you should be wary of imposing modern marketing concepts on ancient societies’, and without noting the irony, adding that mosaics must be seen as the basis of ‘what we would now call a lifestyle’. In contrast Stephen Cosh (pers.comm.) has acknowledged the relevance of a consumption point of view and kindly read and commented upon this text.

Typically the presence of one or more mosaics in a villa is interpreted as an expression of the affluence and social standing of the owner (e.g. Faulkner 2000: 134). The most impressive and expensive pavements are often found in what are considered public areas (Perring 2002), notably corridors (ibid.159), bath-suites (ibid.175-6) and dining/reception rooms (ibid. 165). A hierarchy of mosaics is proposed that equates the importance of the setting with the quality of the pavement with its cost. The perceived sequence downwards is from elaborate and multi-coloured figurative schemes to the use of lesser figured objects, then from intricate

polychrome geometric patterns to black and white versions and finally plain tessellation (e.g. Ling 1998: 115-6; Dunbabin 1999a: 94, 306-8). Such grading (see Neal 1981: 34-5 for a simple system of ranking and Merrony [2003: 26] for details of a suggested four-level classification of the complexity of non-representational designs) is explained as the varying outcome of labour, materials and workmanship. It is therefore seen as a reflection of the villa owner's wealth, or as Bédoyère (1999: 117) puts it, 'if they had been cheap everyone would have had one'.

Social competition, emulation and status enhancement are suggested motives for decorating a floor. A mosaic was a 'status symbol' (Smith 1969: 72), and having one was all about 'keeping up with the neighbours' (Henig 1995: 63-4). Sometimes equivalent language is used, for example 'snobbishness' (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 222), 'a Romanized expression of social dominance' (Millett 1990: 113), the 'civilised life' (Potter and Johns 1992: 114), 'pretension' (Bédoyère 1993: 55), or 'prestige' (Dark and Dark 1997: 43).

Complex figured mosaics are considered also to convey more subtle meanings. They could express the inclusive and defining cultural values of a classically educated elite (Stupperich 1980: 301), an allegorical message of mastery, as in the case of Orpheus pavements (Scott 2000), hidden Gnostic truths (Perring 2002: 133-9), or more overtly Pagan and Christian beliefs, or a conflation of these (Ling 1996: 20-2). The subject matter of mosaics reflected Empire-wide fashions (Huskinson 2002: 131) and was intended to be interpreted by peer group members of the elite (Scott 2000: 169). Such appraisal would, however, depend upon the viewers' background (ibid. 170) and the composition of the elite could change over time (Scott 1991: 31). The reaction of observers might not always be what the owner intended, and besides, the design might reflect varying degrees of influence of the mosaicist (Dunbabin 1999b: 641). Further considerations are to question what mythological themes actually meant to fourth century villa owners and to acknowledge that many artistic images are known to have conveyed multiple meanings (Huskinson 2002: 132). Possible also is that no cultural meanings applied and that mosaics were selected for the basic motive of 'ostentatious tokenism' (ibid. 132). Such superficial pretence perhaps did not reflect a deeply internalised commitment to the Roman values for which mosaics should have stood. Were they simply 'commodities for sale' (Branigan 1994:15)?

To these problems of interpretation can be added the fragmentary nature of much evidence, the inconsistent standards of antiquarian recording and reproduction,

as well as fundamental difficulties in dating mosaics (Neal and Cosh 2002: 32-3). In addition the visual impact of interior design will have depended not just on a pavement, but also the colouring of walls, together with paintings, sculpture, furniture, soft furnishings, etc., (Ling 1998: 129-30). It may be concluded from the examples above that much of the descriptive language used by archaeologists is consumerist – concepts like emulation, status, peer groups and fashion – but has been neither presented nor theorised as such.

4.11.2. Possible personal influence

Such issues make it difficult to identify the extent to which mosaics in Roman Britain might have been personalised except in the broad sense that the size of each was unique to the particular architectural specification of the villa, although a few appear purpose-designed for a room (Johnson 2002: 11). Some archaeologists nevertheless allude to the likelihood of individual influences. Henig (1995: 63) refers to ‘personal aesthetic choice’, Bédoyère (1999: 133) suggests a desire for ‘exclusivity’, and Ellis (2000: 131) talks of ‘taste’. In contrast Ling (1991b: 157) argues that some artistic motifs may simply have ‘looked right together’ ... or fitted the (available) shapes’ and asks whether some designs were merely picked ‘from pattern books’, not for a more substantial reason (Ling 1997: 282).

Elsewhere in the Empire evidence can be more specific: a Pompeiian mosaic advertises the commercial achievements of Scaurus, a garum merchant (Curtis 1984: 564-5); examples in Bulgaria and Spain may depict actual families (Dunbabin 1999a: 321); and in African cases the apparent owner appears alongside an illustration of his villa (Ellis 2000: 133). Dunbabin (1978: 10) contrasts the stereotypical approach of many mosaics in the north-west provinces with African pavements, with the design of the latter often expressing the interests of individuals or organisations. Kondoleon (1991: 111) recognises such self-glorification through pictorial association in mosaics in Roman Italy in the patron’s choice of artistic metaphors, including the depiction of gladiatorial, hunt or mythological scenes. The idea that pre-Roman tribal identities influenced later regional groupings of mosaics in Britain is proposed (Hodder 1979: 194; Millett 1990: 176), but the small numbers involved make it at least possible that this was less a case of group-led symbolism than the manifest fashion values of cohesive categories of customer (see below). Apart from these general comments there has been no systematic attempt to interpret mosaics in Roman Britain as

consumer behaviour and as this thesis has argued, it is not enough simply to say 'customers ordered .. pavements' from towns for their villas (Millett 1990: 175). Whilst this may be contrasted with the analysis both of mosaics and wall paintings as evidence of status display in Pompeii (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: chapter 7), where more thoroughness is possible because overall decorative schemes have survived, the discussion even then does not attempt to consider the possibility that the motives of individuals could vary.

4.11.3. Applying consumer insights

This study will now propose that a consumption discourse might contribute further to our understanding of the social context of Romano-British mosaics. The villa 'costing' model can be a starting point for a new approach to mosaic interpretation that serves to divert attention away from the relatively small number of figured or otherwise complex geometric pavements. The use of even a basic quantity surveying technique permits an important aspect of mosaics, the relative investment that they represented, to be addressed more objectively. The formula used by Newman applies a charge per square metre that is ranked for figurative, geometric and plain tessellation, although in practice some panels seem standard sized, often relating to Roman feet and mosaicists may have charged by the square foot (Stephen Cosh pers. comm.). The resulting 'costings' make it possible to evaluate in broad terms the proportion of the overall expenditure on the villa that is represented by mosaics (and also by the respective standards of these), and then to contrast such percentages with figures for investment in other improvements, before finally making villa-by-villa comparisons. Whilst there are limitations to this method it gets away from vague statements like 'mosaics were indisputably an expensive amenity' (Ling 1996: 16), or that a typical figurative pavement 'would have taken weeks, if not months' (Ling 1997: 265). Instead it might be argued that from an owner's point of view what really mattered was their cost relative to the total investment in the villa. As an example, the total amount attributable to the tessellation during phase 3 at Drayton II was approximately 8% of the overall 'value' of the building at that stage, with this figure comparing with the 4% 'invested' during that phase on hypocausts. By contrast, the value of the mosaics at Bancroft within the equivalent period represented 20% of the overall villa investment with the expenditure on heating only 1.25%. Seen in this

light the commitment in resources represented by tessellation to an owner is placed in context.

4.11.4. *Mosaics as a 'brand'?*

Another opportunity is to consider a mosaic in terms of what today we would call a consumer 'brand'. Despite stylistic variation, the 'product' was readily recognisable throughout the Roman world, and throughout the Roman era (Ling 1998). Cognitive psychology reveals that when people choose a particular brand they select what they perceive are its 'human' attributes, including such personality (or 'psychographic') characteristics as 'sincerity, excitement, competence, sophistication and ruggedness' (Keller 2002: 153-9). A brand therefore helps people to reinvent themselves (Buchholz and Wördemann 2000: 105) both to their inner selves as well as externally in terms of their social positioning. This works most effectively (ibid. 110-1) if the brand fulfils one or more of five 'growth codes'. It might propound an ideology, symbolise social group membership, evoke a heroic personification with whom a consumer can identify, communicate special messages or convey character traits (e.g. individuality, innovativeness, sophistication). Charisma theory (Smothers 1993: 109) recognises the power of a brand to generate exceptional attachment and loyalty that arises because the image and cultural meanings of the product become imbued with symbolic personality. These meanings transfer to a person during consumption to enable an individual to construct and present a personal identity (McCracken 1993: 127).

That the underlying symbolic principles of branding were understood in antiquity is suggested by shop signs in Pompeii (MacMahon 2000: 233-6) and on a larger scale in the Square of the Corporations in Ostia (Ling 1998: 44), where black and white figured mosaics of the second or third century AD feature emblems that seem to characterise the trading and shipping activities of respective 'companies'. At another level, Curtis (1985: 226) has shown how *tituli picti*, or painted inscriptions on amphorae, were used in Roman Italy in the manner of an advertisement. Often formulaic and in effect a label, they might emphasise the quality of fish sauce inside, designate its place of manufacture and highlight the name of the producer. Stanier, a business specialist and former classicist, identifies what amount to skills in marketing communications (or what we might now call 'spin') that were deployed by the Emperor Augustus, including efforts over time to change his name, his focus on

building temples and his encouragement of inscriptions in stone (Stanier 2001). A woman's leather sandal found at Vindolanda was branded with the name of the designer (van Driel-Murray 1995: 9).

Such evidence may only be suggestive, but viewing a mosaic in these symbolic terms does at least place the consumer, the villa owner, at the heart of decision-making. What, then, are the implications of viewing a mosaic as a branded good? One opportunity, introduced here, is to apply a behavioural science model of the fashion process (Sproles 1985). There are six stages: 'introduction, fashion leadership, increasing social visibility, conformity within and across social groups, social saturation, decline and obsolescence' (ibid. 56). It is proposed that this sequence may be observed in the mosaic record for this study area, evidence for which is drawn from Neal and Cosh (2002), though excluding Buckinghamshire villas which are not featured in this volume of the corpus. Their own interpretation of the dynamics of demand for mosaics may be summarised briefly. Most figurative pavements would be selected from the 'empire-wide canon' (ibid. 8), whilst the choice of a Latin or Greek inscription would reveal the 'taste, education and status of the owner' (ibid. 9). Low quality work (e.g. the Rudston Venus: ibid. 353-6) reflected poor craft skills and owner indifference (ibid. 11) with low standards of patching in antiquity suggestive of the changed attitude of owners (ibid. 10), perhaps because the skilled mosaicists were not available or because lesser grades of styling had become acceptable. The diffusion of mosaics is explained by factors of supply including itinerant workers (ibid. 13), the possible use of copy books (ibid. 14), and the emergence of several 'groups' (with cross-connections) which explain recurring patterns in particular regions (ibid. 20-9). Idiosyncrasies in decoration might indicate the work of individual craftsmen (ibid. 21).

4.11.5. A fashion for mosaics

Applying fashion theory to the mosaic brand can offer different insights to these, whilst additionally providing a framework in which to explain the variable take-up of pavements within the study region during a period of around two centuries. Key issues are: why were mosaics not more popular in villas during the second century and not actually in widespread demand until the fourth century; what would be the implications of assuming that it was the decisions of owners, not workers (or groups

of workers) that best explain the similarities and differences in mosaic selection; and how best to contextualise unusual or unique designs?

Invention and innovation within the fashion process, described as 'culture production' (Sproles: 1985: 61, 65), take into account historical and artistic evolution, considerations that are certainly observed in mosaic studies (see, for example, Ling 1998: chapters 3 and 4). Less attention, however, is paid to the possible role of 'creative consumers' (Sproles 1985: 65), or 'fashion leaders', who might be among the first to introduce a mosaic, or the first in an area. Whilst these can be the acknowledged elite, equally they might be 'creative individuals', or both. This dichotomy might possibly explain why some mosaics were laid in the second century in seemingly prestigious villas (at the time) including Piddington or Winterton, but also in smaller and less obviously high-status sites (at the time), including Great Weldon or Gargrave. This distinction aside, the initial period of limited diffusion of a fashion is characterised (Sproles 1985: 60, 66) as expressive of the 'prestige-exclusivity' effect (after Leibenstein), the 'scarcity-rarity' model (after Robinson), or as 'conspicuous consumption' (after Veblen). Sproles (1985: 66) believes this can reflect a period of 'social conflict', with widespread fashion acceptance resisted by the influence of 'anti-fashion', a preference for 'stability and cultural identity' (ibid. 61). This can characterise a society experiencing 'major social changes, mobility and competition for status' (ibid. 61). Two implications therefore arise: first, the possibility that the value of *Romanitas* inherent in the mosaic 'brand' to villa owners was strongly contested and therefore represented a controversial status symbol in the second century, although this was not the case in towns; and second, because other architectural elements of Roman elite housing (rectilinearity, wings, corridors, hypocausts, bath-houses etc.), were being more widely diffused at this time, that this suggests, in contrast, that these were therefore apparently more acceptable.

The third fashion phase, that of broad acceptance and visibility amongst 'a wider range of social groups and lifestyles' (ibid. 56) may describe the demand for mosaics in villas in the fourth century. It is a stage characterised by Sproles (1985) as a wave of enthusiasm or collective behaviour brought about by 'social contagion and mass psychology' (ibid. 67). It marks the transition of the villa mosaic from a novelty to a status symbol of substance, appearing in contexts that were geographically and socially heterogeneous. Tracking this trajectory is complicated

by incomplete villa evidence and the problems of chronology, but detailed analysis within the study area (Neal and Cosh 2002) reveals that whilst most fourth century mosaics are loosely dated, an exception that may be less imprecise is the frequent reference to the 'mid-fourth century', whether definitely or probably so. This applies to nearly 50 mosaics on more than 20 villas, with examples from each tribal area; they include Dalton Parlours, Brantingham, Horkstow, Barton-in-Fabis, Thistleton, Apethorpe and Great Staughton. Examples of villas with mosaics that relate to this narrow time frame vary in style from the small aisled (e.g. Drayton II) to large aisled (e.g. Great Casterton), and the small winged corridor villa (e.g. Redlands Farm) to the courtyard-type (e.g. Apethorpe). More focused evidence of such 'social contagion' (Sproles, above) may be a grouping of second century mosaics on sites in Brigantian territory at Castle Dykes, Gargrave, Piercebridge and Well; in putative Parisi territory, the mid-fourth century mosaics at Beadlam, Brantingham, Hovingham, Oulston and Rudston; and (geographically, if not tribally 'close',) also those at Dalton Parlours, Horkstow and Winterton. Outside the region a prime example of such similarity is the grouping of Orpheus mosaics that feature concentric circles and which are identified with Cirencester (Smith 1969: 97-102), but the degree of affinity between them is debated (Cookson 1984: 76-7). Again the focus is on the artistic influence of the Corinthian mosaicists (e.g. Scott 2000: 43), rather than the possibility of emerging fashion-consciousness and the implications this might convey. Writing generally about the transmission of artistic ideas, Dunbabin (1999a: 302-3) suggests that one medium open to craftsmen may have been a form of illustrated manuscript, although this is not proved. Equally, of course, such perishable, and now lost resources, could have been circulated amongst villa owners.

Interpreting the fourth fashion phase, that of conformity 'within and across social groups' may be approached using reference group analysis. Consumers acquire possessions to match the aims of those individuals, groups or organisations – real or imagined - with whom they wish to be associated or impress. Socially conspicuous or luxury possessions, such as a mosaic, are most susceptible to such reference group influence. Derived from modern marketing analysis (e.g. Rice 1993: 212-3) such categories in Roman Britain arguably could include the tribe and ancestors generally (an 'ascribed reference group'), family and close friends ('primary'), patrons and subordinate clients or tenants ('informal'), members of the local elite network ('formal'), opinion-formers in the wider Roman world

(‘aspirational’), who could be well-travelled, and not least, those with different values (‘disassociative’). It is precisely the complexity of such role model relationships that renders inadequate those archaeological explanations for consumption which rely on concepts like imitation or emulation (Campbell 1987: 51). To explain how the process works it is proposed also that mosaics symbolically convey household values (Blanton 1994, and above). This communication may be classified as ‘canonical’ if focused internally on the family, or ‘indexical’, if expressing the individuality of the occupants through publicly visible decorative elaboration (as, for example, would pavements located in corridors, reception rooms, or bath-suites used for elite entertainment). Such a starting point permits a more nuanced analysis of the social environment. This would become particularly apparent where villas of a similar style, size and period had a distinctly different record of tessellation, for example the well-appointed Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994: 208-9) contrasting with the lesser provision in Building A at Mansfield Woodhouse (Neal and Cosh 2002: 272-4). The reference group effect might also be obvious where clearly the overall resources represented by the building disproportionately outweighed the additional ‘cost’ of a mosaic, which in theory could therefore have been afforded.

Some Leicestershire/Rutland villas illustrate the potential of this approach. In the case of Empingham (Cooper 2000) neither of the two small aisled buildings featured tessellation, yet both had painted wall-plaster, whilst SITE 1 displayed further consumption through a 5m deep circular stone-lined well, and SITE 2 through a hypocaust, square well and possible bath-suite (ibid. 20). Drayton II villa is only 20km away, and was similar in size, but featured mosaics (below). It may be surmised that at Empingham, unlike Drayton II, the householders pursued disassociative behaviour or ‘reactance’ in rejecting tessellation and the social overtones that it conveyed. In a contrasting case there were at least eleven pavements at Norfolk Street, Leicester, where approximate ‘costings’ for the three principal buildings (applying the Newman formula) suggest overall investment in the order of £1m. However, only two of the mosaics are labelled by Neal and Cosh (2002: 110) as ‘fine’, with the rest featuring simple designs in coarse tesserae. Whilst admittedly the two exceptional mosaics adorned important public areas (though significantly not the corridor which guests would see), and acknowledging that some mosaics have been lost, the only explanation offered is that ‘the owner desired mosaics in almost every room but could only afford the best in two apartments’.

Given the total wealth represented by the property this argument appears unsatisfactory. Instead it may be suggested that aspirational reference behaviour mattered only to a degree, and proportionately less than that 'directed' at friends and family.

In a third example, status-enhancing behaviour is not apparent in the mosaic record at Thistleton Dyer where the central axial room, ostensibly the most public, only features coarse tessellation whereas the finest mosaics were found instead in the family quarters (ibid. 122). In another case, the extent to which aspirational reference group behaviour could outweigh other issues of size and investment is suggested at Drayton II where a high-quality mosaic, arguably paralleled at the prestige villas of Chedworth and Woodchester, is seemingly incongruous in the small aisled villa (ibid. 78). Furthermore, the design of the pavement in room 1c is similar to that in the more overtly high-status villas at Bancroft and Great Casterton (ibid. 80) and again hints at a 'formal' elite reference group network that was reflected by mosaics, rather than by overt wealth. Discernible from these examples is the evidence for contrasting degrees of 'normative' influence, that which shapes basic attitudes, most notably arising from the family, and 'comparative' reference influence, or the extent to which identification with outsiders is seen to matter (Williams 2002: 124-6).

This phase of fashion 'conformity' can be considered in further detail. As has been described above, the reason why certain villa pavements bear resemblances to others has been attributed traditionally to the decision-making or repertoire of the worker(s) concerned. For example, Neal and Cosh (2002: 21) suggest that 'similarities in schemes, motifs and workmanship have led to groups of mosaics, presumably executed by the same craftsmen, being identified'. This argument does not always succeed chronologically, for example at Great Staughton (ibid. 52) where pavement patterning is comparable to that found at Stanwick, but where the apparent 25-year time difference is inexplicable.

A number of villas in Yorkshire (and others just across the Humber in north Lincolnshire) have comparable mosaics. Within a 'northern group', Neal and Cosh (2002) draw attention to examples that incorporate radial schemes and others where squares are positioned between rectangles (ibid. 23); a small grouping with figurative designs (ibid. 158); and the use of Orpheus panels at two sites (ibid. 159). This topic of conformity, or social compliance, can be deconstructed (Kiesler and Kiesler 1969). Such uniform behaviour can be related to personality (ibid. 11) but invariably owes to

group expectations (ibid. 33), such as a desire to be liked, do the correct thing, fulfil existing group obligations, and secure group continuation. Whilst certainly at one level the decision to acquire a mosaic represents conformity (with Roman values), a further consideration is whether the decision reflects behaviour that privately was genuinely desired and accepted (ibid. 3), or was merely overt, and a pretence to match reference group expectations.

Archaeologists might therefore assess the overall psychological environment. Illustrating this opportunity is the 'Venus' mosaic at Rudston (Neal and Cosh 2002: 353-6), the garish nude reflecting a classic Roman theme but in a naïve style. It is summed up in characteristic language including 'primitivism .. gross ... inept' (Smith 1969: 107); 'grotesqueness of the draughtsmanship' (Ramm 1978: 94); 'inferior mosaicist .. presumably charged less .. for a less sophisticated and ambitious market' (de la Bédoyère 1999: 132); and 'the owner was indeed wealthy .. but was not sufficiently discerning and educated to know what was correct' (Neal and Cosh 2002: 11). Millett (1990: 191) suggests it conveys an indigenous appreciation of the feminine form. An alternative view, derived from consumer behaviour theory, could be 'rebellion against convention' (Sproles 1985: 58), whilst acknowledging that the Venus is conventional in content, but not in workmanship. Allied to this might be the motive of parody display .. 'the mockery of status symbols and behaviour .. to proclaim their distaste for class or their own security in the social status system' (Engel et al. 1995: 698). Such 'conspicuous counter-consumption' (Solomon and Rabolt 2004: 243), intended to show that status symbols are not a necessity, seems a far more likely argument than either an inability to pay or a lack of taste (above), particularly given the likely overall investment in the villa. Weight might be added to this argument if the 'charioteer' mosaic (admittedly from a separate location and, perhaps, time) at Rudston (Building 8, room 2) is viewed less as an overt attachment to Roman sporting enthusiasms than a covert ancestral echo (Stephen Cosh pers. comm.) in a tribal territory that in the past had been strongly identified with cart or chariot burials (cf Stead 1991: 40-61). The only other chariot theme on a mosaic within the entire study area lies just across the Humber at Horkstow (Neal and Cosh 2002: 153). Riesman (1950: 11-3) has identified how the social character of some people can be tradition-centred, and concerned with ancestral values, and this may have applied at Rudston.

Social saturation, the fifth stage in the fashion cycle, is characterised by widespread over-use and declining interest among the fashion-minded, before eventual decline (Sproles 1985: 67). Such psychological obsolescence might explain the widespread evidence of poorly executed repairs to mosaics in antiquity (though these are difficult to date), and might hint at their reduced standing as status symbols, raising the possibility that they were for some owners a short-lived fad. It may therefore be indicative of an altered (i.e. post-acquisition) attitude (Belk 1989: 131) towards these status-markers. Examples of such inferior patching are noted by Neal and Cosh (2002) throughout the study area, including Beadlam (ibid. 323); Rudston (ibid. 361-2); Drayton II (ibid. 78); Winterton (ibid. 206); Great Casterton (ibid. 82); Norfolk Street, Leicester (ibid. 114); and Great Weldon (ibid. 243). It is a phenomenon perhaps inadequately explained by Stephen Cosh (pers.comm.) as the 'consequence of the mosaicist having moved on, or died .. or because finances were now restricted or because there was a change of conditions – e.g. the villa might have become occupied by a bailiff instead of the owner'. Given examples of mosaics being produced late into the fourth century (e.g. Denton: ibid.139; Great Casterton: ibid 81, 83; Stanwick: ibid. 254-9) there were evidently craft skills still in practice.

This idea of staleness, with a fashion declining in popularity, could conceivably also explain why some mosaics were substituted for a fresh design. Such an assessment of the motives for replacement can be complicated by the possibility that the decision owed to planned structural change; this was apparently the case, for example, at Great Casterton (Neal and Cosh 2002: 83), Oulston (ibid. 350) and Scampton (ibid. 190), although even this challenges the idea that pavements should be inviolable. On the other hand, several floors at Fishbourne Palace in Sussex suggest the likelihood of a change in decorative decision-making (Cunliffe 1971a: 158, 167). Perceived outmodedness may explain pavement substitution at Cirencester (Smith 1986: 209), including one room where a hypocaust was laid on top of a mosaic depicting a hare (McWhirr 1986: 28); and beneath rooms xv and xvii at Hucclecote villa in Gloucestershire (Clifford 1933: 347). In this study area such substitution is noted beneath room 9 at Piddington (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.). A case of several successive layers of tessellation in the baths at Desenzano villa in northern Italy was reported to the author by Stephen Cosh.

4.11.6. Psychological influences

A theme running strongly throughout the fashion model (Sproles 1985: 67) is the potential for diverse psychological factors amongst individuals to prove influential. These can provide explanations for fashion leadership, differentiation at a time of social conformity or seeking to be different even during a period of saturation and decline. A dimension to such discrepancy is the concept of 'individuation' (Maslach et al. 1985) typically associated with people with strong self-esteem and willingness to defy social criticism (ibid. 732), and perhaps arising from innate characteristics like creativity or innovativeness (ibid. 736).

From this starting point it is possible that the villa owners' traits of individualism, and a desire to appear unique, may provide an alternative rationale for the design idiosyncrasies that traditionally are attributed instead to mosaic craftsmen. One example is Southwell (Neal and Cosh 2002: 277-8), where mosaics in rooms 2, 3 and 4 in the south wing are described as having 'unparalleled' designs; another is a pavement in Great Casterton (ibid. 82) where decorative zoning is described as 'very unusual', as is the use of a wavy ribbon.

A further dimension of individuality may be evident at Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994), where the large number of mosaics in a relatively small villa is also described as 'unparalleled' but for which the only explanation given is that of 'prosperity' (ibid. 208-9). In contrast, a consumption explanation may lie in the personality trait of extroversion which is correlated to arousal-seeking behaviour (Mehrabian and Russell 1974: 30). Such people are 'more aroused .. in arousing settings' and the environmental stimuli provided by a villa filled with mosaics, two considered of superior quality, may be a better, or at least contributory, explanation for the unique circumstances. Another example might be the chariot scene on the main mosaic at Horkstow (Neal and Cosh 2002: 153) that depicts teams in different colours. It may have served as a stimulus for conversation by evoking memories from a visit to a race and rather like the case of soccer clubs today may hint at a faction favoured by the owner. In some instances a charioteer's name is given (perhaps in an equivalent way to published references to David Beckham today), as with the example of Severus at Colerne villa in Wiltshire (Godwin 1856: 329). Other cases that suggest how personality traits might influence the theme of a mosaic have been suggested above.

4.11.7. *Mosaics as possessions*

Another consumer approach to mosaics that is derived from an analysis of attitudes towards possessions, might seek to differentiate pavements intended to be more utilitarian from those with a more symbolic purpose. This may in turn provide a basis for seeking insights into the personal and social identities of owners. For this to work, specialists would need to agree broadly upon a classification of mosaics, with considerations including, for example, the use of varying sizes of tesserae (smaller usually infers quality [Neal and Cosh 2002: 94]), the choice of particular style (above), or its location within a building (above). The next step is to apply the kind of coding system for possessions that is proposed by Dittmar (1991: 174-5) and which suggests the potential for retrospectively ‘reading’, quantifying and ranking the importance of each (and therefore in this case the perceived standing of mosaics to the villa householder). A matrix of 35 ownership variables that in many cases can be recognised intuitively as relevant to mosaics is presented under eight key categories. These are: intrinsic qualities; basic utility; use-related features; effort taken to acquire/maintain; emotion-related experiences; opportunities for self-expression; the identification of the possession with personal history; and finally, its wider symbolism.

Whilst a thorough analysis based on this list is outside the scope of this study, the potential of the idea can be illustrated by demonstrating that it is theoretically possible to match an interpretation of the mosaics to the variables drawn from each sub-category, using the sequence above. One ‘intrinsic’ attribute, for example, is labelled ‘durability/reliability/quality’, an issue that could be approached in terms of the need for adequate bedding for mosaics, to which reference is made by Vitruvius (*On Architecture*, 7.1.3), whilst poor bedding standards are noted in some cases by Neal and Cosh (2002: 16-7). Recent research (Merrony 2003: 26) suggests that the ‘hidden costs’ of such preparation, which could include the process of slaking lime, which requires fuel, raw materials and manpower, may have been underestimated as an aspect of determining the intended quality of mosaic. Other ‘intrinsic’ elements of tessellation, such considerations as economy, monetary value, uniqueness/rarity and aesthetics, have been introduced above.

A ‘utility’ issue is the potential longevity of mosaics as a flooring medium, and the convenience of cleaning they afforded, and this may explain why patching

(above) was considered desirable. Among 'use-related' considerations would be the part played by the mosaic in promoting 'social contact, enjoyment and entertainment' and this could be identified in *triclinia* (Cosh 2001) as well as in their provision of 'information or knowledge', a point demonstrated, perhaps, by the mythological Bellerophon mosaic at Croughton (Neal and Cosh 2002: 234-6).

An insight into category 4 ('required effort to obtain') may be recognised both at Well, where a second century mosaic could have been laid by a craftsman who had travelled 150km from Leicester (Neal and Cosh 2002: 364), and also at Thenford where purple-coloured stones used in the Venus mosaic may have been brought a similar distance (ibid. 19).

Mosaics can also be appraised in terms of the 'emotional states' (category 5) to which they could contribute. Variables are 'mood enhancement' which perhaps was the motive (i.e. for conviviality) that explains the frequent depiction of a cantharus, as at Oulston (Neal and Cosh 2002: 350); 'escapism', which may explain the re-creation of marine life in bath-suites, as at Rudston (ibid. 357); and 'boosting self-confidence', a motive that could be inferred from the Orpheus mosaic at Horkstow (ibid. 148-50), as this theme has been interpreted as an allegorical representation of heroic behaviour (Scott 1995: 119-20).

Category 6, that linking possessions to 'self-expression', includes the rationale of seeking 'individuality/differentiation from others' and has been discussed. The display of 'long-term associations', an aspect of category 7, or 'personal history', may explain the depiction of the Rudston chariot (above). Mosaics may also be interpreted (category 8) in terms of 'symbolic interrelation'. Aspects of this might be a general association with *Romanitas*; inferred attachment to a 'symbolic company', perhaps recognisable through loyalty to the local mosaic workshop; or in the case of a 'symbolic association with specific people', the literal or allegorical depiction of female figures at the apparently connected pavements of Thenford and Whittlebury (Neal and Cosh 2002: 261-2, 264-5).

This approach to the analysis of possessions, merely introduced here, offers a working hypothesis by which to judge the relative importance of the meanings of mosaics, as well as provide an indication of intended self-image. It is envisaged that a villa by villa comparison, based on the 35 sub-variables, might provide a contrasting and nuanced ranking of mosaics as a material sign of the owner's desired identity.

4.11.8. New approach to mosaic studies

Overall, a consumption-led analysis, with its emphasis on the significance of variables of personality may also contribute to a new premise in mosaic studies (Muth 1998: 346-50), that the image should be discussed more as the lived experience of the owner(s), rather than simply from the narrow standpoint of literary narrative. In this sense mosaics mattered as 'pictures', with the subtle accentuation of aspects of mythological imagery intended to evoke life values rather than the motive of cultural refinement upon which mosaic specialists tend to concentrate. As an example, a scene depicting the Rape of Hylas might be interpreted more in terms of eroticism, and pleasure, generally, than from any deeper philosophical or allegorical point of view. Suitably managed, mythological scenes could therefore have provided access to dreams of a more ideal world, one less constrained by daily reality. Muth's approach has been received with enthusiasm (Ling 2001: 328-9). The considerations of consumer psychology outlined above may offer a theoretical context through which to explore this issue further.

Chapter Five. Communicating consumption values

The gazetteer accompanying this thesis draws attention ('road values') to considerable numbers of villas that were located close to significant Roman roads and this pattern surely cannot be coincidental. Whilst this section suggests the importance of applying consumer insights to explain this phenomenon, on the other hand a location close to a road would bring the practical advantages both of facilitating access and reducing the need to construct a long private road.

5.1. *The influence of roads*

Traditionally Romanists have pointed to a clustering of villas around towns, explaining this as largely an economic/marketing relationship between agricultural suppliers and 'urban' consumers. Such inferences have been drawn, for example, by Rivet (1964: 105); Percival (1976: 158); Frere (1987: 272-3) and Jones and Mattingly (1990: 240). Archaeological debate on the topic of urban hinterlands has tended to examine roads (and rivers) from the narrow perspective of transport economics (e.g. Finley 1979: 127; Duncan-Jones 1974: 366-9; Greene 1986: 35-44). It is possible that such interpretations have been influenced by research in geography and an academic enthusiasm for place-distance models as the basis for improved economic planning (e.g. Chisholm 1968). One popular approach to the analysis of location was Von Thünen's early-nineteenth century concept of *The Isolated State* (ibid. 26-32), in which assumptions were made about the alternative costs of transportation.

In a much-quoted study, Hodder and Millett (1980) propose the alternative hypothesis that the town-country connection in Roman Britain is predominantly a social one. The location of villas, as the rural homes of the ruling *civitas* class, would reflect the relative administrative standing of the town. Status could be expressed through villas by an elite remaining in close touch with such public towns, but not in respect of small towns which grew economically, but lacked social importance (Millett 1990: 195). Hodder and Millett (1980: 74) concede, but do not explore, the possible relevance of roads to their argument, but more recent work has emphasised an apparent correlation between the arterial system and villa location. Allowance must of course be made for other factors of potential influence, among them water supply, micro-geography, land ownership, site continuity and the likely transportation advantage of siting close to a river. Nevertheless, in a study south of London it was

shown that the average distance from a villa to a 'known major road' was 7km, interpreted as an hour on horseback (Sheldon et al. 1993: 43). An equivalent survey to the north of London recorded an average distance of 5.5km (Green et al. 1997: 191). In both cases around 25% of villas were within 1km of the network. Of 24 known or possible villas centred on *Cunetio* in Wiltshire, three-quarters were located within 4km of a major road, and a third within 1km (Hostetter and Flusche 1997: 66).

Whilst proximity is a subjective judgement such data hardly corroborate the conclusion drawn by Perring (2002: 142) that villas 'avoided main roads', and even if his meaning is that actual closeness was eschewed this ignores important examples like Brantingham, Drayton II (fig.11) and Norton Disney. The villas of Cicero were all on or close to major roads to Rome (How 1955: 140-2). Also we should note The Younger Pliny's recommendation that a country property needed 'easy access to Rome, (and) good communications' (*Ep.* 1.24) and in the case of his Laurentine villa, also the willingness he reveals to journey the 17 miles from the capital 'without having cut short or hurried the day's work' (*Ep.* 2.17). He clearly enjoyed travel by road to his properties (*Ep.* 3.19). A note of caution is suggested by the work of Meheux (1994) who examines villa distribution in the Severn Valley on a diachronic basis in order to avoid a perception of spatial distortion arising from chronological inexactitude. Whilst overall villa siting is seen to relate closely to the road system, this was more the case in some periods than others. A problem is that such analysis is heavily dependent on good dating evidence. It must also be conceded that perception plays a part when discussing this issue: Walters (2001: 140) appears not to find it significant that half of all villas in a west country survey were located within 2km of a major road. He considers also that rivers would have been used to transport produce in order to avoid 'serious congestion' on the roads.

The functionalist and economics-based understanding of Roman roads is currently being replaced by a phenomenological perspective which recognises their influence on the creation of 'humanized space' (Witcher 1998: 61). One reinterpretation is that the building of straight roads across a conquered landscape could be symbolically expressive of imperial ideology and power (see Purcell [1990] for a case-study on Cisalpine Gaul; Petts [1998] for an example in Britain). However, more detailed analysis of varying engineering methods, widths, successive layers and chronological differences between stretches helps us to recognise the more complex relationship that existed between this planned strategic military imposition

of the system and the subsequent development and improvement of these and other roads intended to serve civil settlements (Davies 2002: 155).

Roads could also change the mindset. In an analysis of Roman Italy it has been shown that new travel efficiencies encouraged interconnectedness, shrank the sense of distance, nurtured political unity and stimulated personal mobility (Laurence 1999). A new, and reduced, conception of space-time also fostered cultural integration and made comparable the consumer behaviour of the elite both in towns and in villas sited close to roads (ibid. 103-7). The example of the Republican period villa of Settefinestre makes it clear that a consumption lifestyle enhanced by imported material culture was dependent on the road system (Laurence 1997: 145). Laurence (2001: 91) also applies such arguments to Britain, the conclusion being drawn that the idea of Romanization is best understood in terms of the new 'mobility and connectivity' brought about by the 'creation of long-distance roads'. The inference is that the adoption of 'Roman' material culture was spread by increased social contact. That such elite networking was made possible on a widespread basis by roads is demonstrated for an earlier period in Italy and elsewhere by exchanges between Cicero and his friend Atticus (Laurence 1996). Much elite travel, then and later, would be prompted by the political need to network. The movement of representatives from Rome or the provincial government would encourage landowners to make an impact on these people through display (Ray Laurence pers. comm.).

5.2. Roads and the consumption perspective

It is proposed here that this explanation can be taken further by applying consumer insights. Adopting an experiential perspective (Witcher, above) it may be suggested that the Roman road came to symbolise consumption values. Laurence (1999) indicates the various ways that resources controlled by the elite could be expended on roads in Italy: in upgrading and repairs (ibid. 54); on private road links to the main highway (ibid. 61); on slaves, draught animals and muleteers to expedite transportation (ibid. 132); through the acquisition and use of vehicles (ibid. 136); by travelling with an entourage (ibid. 140); and no doubt also from the cost of reciprocal hospitality (if note is taken on this issue of the warning given by Columella [*R.R.* 1.5.6-7] against siting a villa too close to a road). If travel was itself consumer

behaviour – ostentation on the move – then at the same time those villas (and their owners) that were passed will also have had an influence, serving as role-models for varied, perhaps desirable life experiences. Tellingly, Cicero could identify from any road he travelled in Italy the villas and estates of ‘every notable person’ (Plutarch. *Cicero*.7). Among travellers, depending on their origins, purpose, reputation, status and accompanying material culture, there would have been some who would personify a sense of novelty and diversity and thereby serve as role-model consumers. Consequently the road was therefore a medium of communication in a wider sense; it led to conduct that diffused new consumption meanings and aspirations. Roads afforded the opportunity to participate in a wider, interconnected world of possessions, pleasures and personal identities. As such they would have encouraged the diffusion of innovations. This consumer interpretation is only a short step from the phenomenological perspective on roads offered by Zanker (2000: 29) that experiences of travel between varying places would stimulate ‘reflection, comparisons, evaluation and a kind of ranking’.

The predictability of travel that roads came to represent would have encouraged mobility. In Roman Italy (Morley 1997: 49-53) this involved not just the elite responding to their social relationships and obligations of patronage, but also ‘merchants, pilgrims, soldiers, officials, envoys, tourists’ and others associated with ‘complex kin networks’, or traders attracted to ‘periodic markets’. Such interaction fostered the word-of-mouth spread of news and opinion. In the context of ancient Greece (Lewis 1996), the exchange of news helped define and confirm an individual’s status and could be conveyed through commerce or in association with military, religious or tourist travel. Conclusions about this can only be suggestive and would have been dependent in the Roman world on factors like ‘mutual linguistic intelligibility, settlement density and newsworthiness’ (Lee 1993: 154). On the other hand, Paterson suggests that the role of trade and traders in disseminating innovations throughout the empire may have been underestimated (1997: 157) and points to evidence that merchants ‘exploited opportunities to create or expand markets’ (ibid. 165).

Movement of people and new ideas may have engaged the elite intellectually in the processes both of social comparison and differentiation that are recognised as the basis of fashion. Evidence of mobility may also have challenged those fixed and accustomed hierarchies of status in the countryside that were derived from long-

standing ancestral claims to territoriality. By stimulating fashion competitiveness the new mobility demonstrated novelty and weakened the hold of the past. The new rural arena for elite competition became the road, serving as a corridor for display. For example, describing a day at his Tuscan villa, The Younger Pliny comments (*Ep.* 9.36), 'part ..is given up to friends who visit me from neighbouring towns'. Bodel (1997: 20) acknowledges that egotistical personal display was more permissible at a villa than in the individual's town house.

Contra Hodder and Millett (1980) and Millett (1990), it is suggested here that the patterning of villas does not necessarily reflect simply a defined or pre-determined social relationship with towns. Instead, it is proposed that in many areas the villas were located so as to be close to, within view of, or easily accessible from roads. Intentionally they could therefore serve as a medium of display that targeted those on the move and who could therefore convey the owners' reputation the furthest. This could have been a stronger motive than simply to show off to those living locally whom they already knew. If a villa was intended to express the desire for visible distinction, such a personal and social strategy makes most sense when you are literally visible, and to the more people, the better, or certainly within easy reach from the road. Laurence (1999: 140) observes that travel by road was not merely to do with moving from A to B, but was also about being noticed. Trait theories suggest that some people are more other-directed and exhibitionist than the average.

A consequence is that the Roman road may have introduced a new uncertainty in the appraisal of social standing. The prestige of owning a mosaic is reduced because it cannot command respect from people passing by. Visibly conspicuous symbols of status might therefore have mattered more within such reference group behaviour, including, for example, an impressive enclosure wall, a second storey, a prominently-located bath-house, or a classically symmetrical or otherwise imposing front. This might be especially true for a new and socially insecure elite that required (and acquired) symbols of status to be especially ostentatious.

It may be concluded that whilst the quality of the road system contributed to wider economic opportunity and access to markets, equally the improved medium of communication brought about psychological change. People on the move acted like advertising does today, both introducing an elite audience to novel ideas and positive judgements about these, as well as enabling them to sample and observe new things themselves en route and at their destination. The result could be a form of social

contagion that can be demonstrated today by small world theory, outlined above. Road travel facilitated the spread of ideas by travellers but also provided the extra ratchet of randomness of contacts (through not knowing in advance who you would meet or pass en route) that makes diffusion happen quickly and thoroughly. Such personal mobility helped challenge the dominance of a hitherto largely self-sufficient and closed society with predictable needs, by one in which the elite existence was characterised by open-ended wants. Subject to wealth, new habits and new meanings for material culture became fashionable through the values-adjusting medium of the road.

Adopting a simplistic model, in unchanging 'tradition-directed' and ritual-dominated societies there was little scope for individuality, social mobility, choice or innovation (Riesman 1950: 12). In contrast, Riesman's 'other-directed' social character adopts an 'abundance psychology' (ibid. 19) seeking approval from 'contemporary others rather than ancestors' (ibid. 23). Such people behave, and consume, in accordance with the expectations of their peer groups. Roman roads encouraged and enabled the affluent to use possessions in a strategy of social competition, and offered a context in which such symbolic display could take place.

5.3. Roads as a focus for consumption display: some evidence

This case-study uses maps prepared in conjunction with a number of SMR offices in the study area (Appendices 5(a)-5(i)) to support the argument presented above that proximity to roads contributed to the desire to consume, and in a publicly visible context. A number of caveats must be introduced. In not all cases is the exact positioning of each main road known for sure, let alone the line of lesser, though still important roads. It will be seen that SMR offices vary significantly in their ability to present spatial information in a digital form and therefore their work is not always comparable, and in some cases has not reproduced well. No maps were available from SMR offices in South Yorkshire or West Yorkshire.

The data used, comprising evidence of all definite or putative villas in each county, takes no account of consequent problems both of uncertainty and definition, nor that of the issue of chronology (Meheux 1994). Nor is it always up to date. Another consideration that could be addressed in more comprehensive research is that of settlement continuity because the argument that being close to a road really

mattered is obviously strongest in cases where the site initially becomes occupied only after the road was built. A further consideration is that of balancing the importance of a number of possible factors, as in north Kent, where recent work suggests there were 19 probable villas fronting 22km of Watling Street, and averaging a distance of 2.4km from it to the north, and 4.8km to the south (Wilkinson 2000: 57). Apart from being near to the road, locational influences could have included proximity to springs and the river Swale, and there is a sense from the equal spacing of the villas that this also reflects the deliberate partitioning of estates (Wilkinson 1997: 13). Finally, what would add support to the hypothesis that roads mattered is evidence that villas could have been viewed by those on the move. This was 'tested' in a desktop exercise discussed below.

Such issues aside, in this study area there appears from the SMR maps to be a noticeable degree of correlation between roads (definite and putative) and villas (definite and putative). Additionally, in the case of West Yorkshire the villa at Dalton Parlours was within 1.5km of the important Ilkley to Tadcaster road, and because of its elevated and prominent position, was probably also viewable from the north-south Rudgate (Nicholson 1990: x,1). Recent SMR references point to two possible villas (finds of roof and box tiles etc.) at Garforth, both of which were within 1km of the Roman road between Doncaster and Tadcaster. A field exercise in South Yorkshire (above) suggests the viewability of possible villas from a major Roman road.

In a study of high-status sites in East Brittany (Astill and Davies 1997), evidence both from dense scatters of surface tile, and in some cases actual excavations, also relates villas closely to the communications system (ibid. 82-4). Characteristic distances of these from roads are 1.5km or less, and significantly, they are located on land that often was not the most fertile, suggesting that viewability from, or actual proximity to, each artery mattered more than did an immediate capacity for agriculture (ibid. 84, 253). Sites of lesser status are far more likely to be located on the better arable soils further away from the roads.

Although it would require a comprehensive study of large areas of landscape in order to demonstrate in an archaeologically convincing way the consumer motive of villa display targeted at road users, further evidence may be apparent in lowland east Yorkshire (Halkon and Millett 1999). Whilst geography, and especially the marshy conditions played a part, cultural integration during the entire Roman period was

confined essentially to a narrow strip either side of the Brough to York road (Millett 1999: 228). This is illustrated graphically elsewhere in the region by the difference in affluence between Brantingham villa that was located close to the road and that found in the settlement of North Cave, a few kilometres away (Dent 1989: 32), although other social factors might also have applied. The picture is similar in the Welland Valley, Leicestershire, where a line of long-lived villas close to the Gartree Road contrasts with a nearby upland group of 'peasant' houses which do not survive the third century (Liddle 1995: 87).

5.4. Roman roads and the virtual villa landscape

This section draws on conclusions arising from viewshed case-studies in 4.4.3, and is also subject to the caveats that were raised. In the first example the objective is to test arguments (above) that note the close relationship of villas to roads. It is suggested that this patterning was not accidental, nor necessarily just a function of ease of access, but owed also to the psychological desire to display a status symbol to as many people as possible. For this latter proposition to work it matters that inter-visibility was likely between a high proportion of villas and the road. The test areas used were 90 km stretch of Ermine Street to the north and south of Lincoln (fig.17), and the whole of the county of Northamptonshire (fig.18). In each case SMR records for known or putative villas and known or putative roads were used and the presumed height of the observer from the road was taken to be 1.68m (eye-level), with the height of each villa estimated at 3m. The results suggest that inter-visibility was in many cases a likely locational consideration given that if privacy and seclusion had been alternative reasons for choosing a site then these motives could equally have been met in the respective landscapes.

This hypothesis is taken further in the Upper Nene Valley (fig.19) by attempting to replicate the view of the villa landscape from a high point along the *Bannaventa* to Towcester road. In this example each villa has been assumed to be 25m wide by 10m deep and 3m high, but the software used allows these only to face south and not to match their actual orientation. A perception of their exact size to a traveller (whose eye-level is estimated at 1.68m) can be assessed, although the insensitivity of the terrain model makes exact replication of the observer position difficult to achieve.

Chapter Six. Applying a consumer perspective to individual villas

Introduction

This section attempts to apply a consumption perspective using case-studies to explain the archaeological evidence on four villas, those at Piddington, Redlands Farm, Norton Disney and Bancroft. A different emphasis is introduced for each. These specific studies provide a fuller, contextual analysis of the methods and theories developed above.

6.1. Piddington: the emergence of individualistic values

Despite antiquarian intrusion (Reynolds 1799) and the loss at the time of an important mosaic, and presumably artefacts, the systematic excavations at Piddington since 1979 make it one of the country's most thoroughly and scientifically examined villas. An adjacent quarry may, however, have destroyed ancillary buildings and deep ploughing has probably removed several mosaics. Reporting is taking place through interim papers and a series of specialist fascicules and what follows is drawn from these, and from several interviews generously given by site director, Roy Friendship-Taylor, who has seen and commented on this text. To avoid repetitive referencing attention is drawn to the work of R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor that is identified in the bibliography, but other specialist studies for the villa are identified where appropriate.

Before a consumer perspective is developed, the published interpretation of the evolution of the villa can be summarised. It is important to emphasise that what follows in this paragraph are the conclusions drawn by R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor, not those of the author. Occupation is recognised almost continuously on the site from the late Iron Age to the early-fifth century, and a possible historical narrative has been proposed. It is suggested that pre- and post-conquest finds of high-status imported pottery may be evidence of a minor Iron Age tribe. The discovery of name-stamped tiles is seen as indicative of the long-standing pro-Roman attitudes of successive owners, providing a scenario that could explain villa evolution from a cottage-type to a courtyard-style property that is described as wealthy and pretentious. The house is envisaged as the home of a well-connected Catuvellaunian magistrate. It is argued that the sudden late-third century termination of villa life may have

resulted from the owners' decision to support the rebels Carausius and Allectus and consequent retribution under Constantius. There followed a 100-year-long so-called 'squatter' phase characterised by seven 'family units' living within the dismantled villa in conditions that resulted in a thick layer of occupational debris, and which was labelled a squalid, shanty settlement.

The professionalism of the work at Piddington offers scope to argue alternatively for a consumer behaviour interpretation of the evidence. This will complement the case-studies in villa 'costing' already suggested above and which have considered the expenditure within successive phases of construction, and also the resources invested in the enclosure wall.

To simplify the application of consumption theories as a heuristic tool, and following an introduction, it is intended to consider Piddington against insights drawn largely from a single specialist text, *Consumer Behavior* (Solomon 2002). The appropriate mindset is to try to interpret the decisions of successive owners at certain times to build or not build, improve or not improve, and decorate or not decorate wholly as an expression of consumer behaviour. Their influences can be objective and conscious, but equally may be irrational, and shaped by emotional feelings towards possessions.

A sub-text affecting discussion of any site displaying continuity from the late Iron Age into the Roman period is that of cross-cultural consumption. Different consumer meanings will have attached to objects that arrived from a different society. It is a process variously described as 'recontextualization', 'hybridization' or 'creolization' (Howes 1996: 5) and represents that point of interface between the original, potentially heterogeneous, meanings assigned at the place of inception and those understood at the point of consumption. It is a process summed up by Woolf (1998: 241) as 'becoming Roman, becoming different' but with the provisos that motives can be complex (ibid. 171), and the degree to which new values were internalised never certain (ibid. 157). Woolf's work builds on that of Millett (1990: 68-9), who offers one interpretation, that the native elite 'Romanized' themselves through the acquisition of 'Roman' objects as a strategy to retain prestige and maintain power.

Consumer behaviour offers a broader spectrum of potential explanations including the classifications of needs and drives suggested by Maslow, Murray and Dichter (Solomon 2002: 107-10, 165-6). Whilst the full examination of these

possibilities is outside the scope of this study the potential can be illustrated briefly. The volume of imported Claudian pottery was exceptional, comprising the equivalent to 40 *terra nigra* vessels, an almost unique find of *terra rubra* within Northamptonshire plus a likely total of 30 Lyon ware pots. The explanation usually offered is that they were transported with the army, and whilst this is possible, it may only be half the story and an interpretation simply of how these items happened to be imported. The Piddington household perhaps came to want (not just need) this pottery for reasons as varied potentially as the desire for affiliation, uniqueness, status, reward or self-esteem. Another motive might have been symbolic self-completion, using the acquisition to round off their social identity (Solomon 2002: 136). Only by examining the Piddington evidence in the context of similar finds elsewhere in the region can a more complete understanding of personal or social motives be attempted, and for example a burial deposit of *terra nigra* has been found at the early small town of Duston (10 km).

Such consumer contextualisation may also be applied (fig.8) to the timber proto-villa (phase I) that in itself seems significantly early (cAD70) until it is compared with the contemporary and far larger stone-built and much more improved villa at Mileoak (17 km). The latter represented a level of architectural consumption not reached at Piddington for perhaps half a century. The motive for aggrandizement at Piddington may not any longer have been that of 'Romanization' in order to retain social influence, but could by then have been that of emulation (upward striving), or imitation (simply copying), or some other psychological variable of the kind introduced in this study. What may be suggested is that the prevailing culture displayed a low degree of 'uncertainty avoidance' (Solomon 2002: 463), being in consumption terms open to new ideas and changing values. The Piddington elite may even have become known for their innovativeness: related variables for this today can include literacy, higher status, upward social mobility, favourable attitude towards change, high aspirations, social interconnectedness, and prior knowledge of innovations (Blythe 1997: 132-3).

The consumption habit nevertheless had to be learned (Solomon 2002: 72-80) and this involved behavioural change. New ideas offer both functional and symbolic advantages and the balance of these will have varied for each innovation; pottery and housing being already familiar concepts, but bath-houses, hypocausts, tessellation and wall-plaster being completely new. The attributes of 'observability' and 'trialability'

make adoption both quicker and more probable (ibid. 502) and through chronological and geographical analysis it may be possible to assess when and where the diffusion of 'Roman' improvements could have afforded such sampling experiences for the Piddington elite. The relative timing of changes at Piddington could therefore be contrasted with developments in other settlements. A consumption perspective also requires comparison with the nearest known villas, including a possible second in Piddington (1 km), Wootton Fields (3 km), probable villas at Quinton (2 km) and Horton (5km) plus others at Hunsbury (7 km) and Ravenstone (8 km). Motives to consume can be socially-driven and decisions to invest in architectural display may reflect competitive relationships with others. A problem arises because these nearby villa sites are far less well-known and understood. The 'costing' formula might facilitate such inter-villa analysis even if surface survey techniques can only be used. Contributing to the suggestion that the Piddington elite eschewed tradition in favour of new consumption values is the absence on the site of one or more stone roundhouses, unlike many other villa sites in Northamptonshire (Keevill and Booth 1997: 31-4), and which it has been argued above may represent the displaced ideal of a 'golden past'. On the other hand, possessiveness towards their revered ancestral location is evident by continuity in site use, and this may be taken as an example of the 'extended self' as a consumer phenomenon.

Reference group analysis provides a theoretical basis (Solomon 2002: 319-28) with which to discuss those influential 'others' at whom architectural consumption may have been directed and this may offer insights into the relative status of the villa. At face value the evolution from a cottage to a courtyard-style of building is expressive of a 'Roman' lifestyle. The target audience may be said to be that of the 'aspirational' group with decisions shaped by 'normative compliance' to ensure group approval. This would be consistent with the 'other-directed' values conjectured above, the owners consuming extravagantly in order to correspond with an 'ideal social self', or how they wanted to be seen. A more complex scenario is also possible. There is evidence of an independence in decision-making that might indicate the effect of specific personality traits on consumer behaviour, and an 'inner-directedness' in social character (Riesman 1950).

Whilst the trait of materialism appears prevalent at Piddington there is also a sense of the trait, 'rebellion against conformity'. The south wing does not lie exactly at right angles to the main building (and may follow the line of earlier boundary

ditches), and within the main building the public rooms (7/9) are not axially located behind the corridor. There is seemingly also strong evidence of a desire for uniqueness, or certainly exhibitionism. Consumer choice in building materials has been shown to be central to impression management. The use of arguably attention-seeking external decorative finishes (e.g. brightly painted roof tiles and exuberantly coloured rendering) in full view of visitors arriving at Piddington may therefore have been intentional. Certainly this mid- to late-second century (Phase 4) phenomenon was relatively short-lived, estimated at a maximum of 60 years (Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.), and therefore within the scope of inter-generational habit and memory.

This was probably also the period (Ward 1999: 29) when the (deliberately?) distinctive roof finials were in situ and which find locations suggest were positioned at the viewable outer edges of the building. The presence of at least 30 of these (they are found only rarely on villa sites and only in one other case in Northamptonshire) contributes to the egocentric profile of the owners at this time but is a proposal at odds with their interpretation by Roy Friendship-Taylor (who as an ornithologist could be biased), that they were used as nesting habitats for young birds reared for eating. Such calculated differentiation of the exterior of a house has been defined as 'indexical communication' (Blanton 1994: 8-13), reflective both of owner individuality and wealth but also potentially likely to coincide with, and be a response to, those periods when traditional status criteria are being threatened. An awareness of the effect that targeted decorative elaboration could achieve is suggested further by the use of plain fissile limestone roof tiles to the rear of the building and therefore out of sight of guests, and in contrast to the coloured tiling at the front. This period coincided also with the building of the villa enclosure wall that was constructed to a much higher standard to the front where it was most visible and in contrast to the quality of work on its less noticeable three other sides.

Using a consumption approach it may be concluded that Phase 4 saw the villa at least matching the prevailing regional demand for status symbols (an early mosaic, a private bath-suite, wall-plaster etc.), with the owners apparently high self-monitors and concerned with public image and the impression that they were creating (Solomon 2002: 135). Such planned ostentation also reflects classic fashion theory (Simmel 1957), with class distinctions driven by an elite that uses stylistic differentiation to preserve their social distance from imitative lower groups (ibid.

545). It may be relevant that the mid-second century also saw the aggrandizement of Easton Maudit villa (15 km) where an imposing corridor was added at this time perhaps serving to conceal the rather small building behind. This was arguably an expression of indexical communication, as perhaps also was the placement of roof finials, four examples of which have been found.

Other Piddington evidence may also be interpreted as consumer behaviour. Wall-plaster pigments, probably also dateable to Phase 4, include the rare cinnabar and imported Egyptian blue (Morgan 1992: 290), and suggest the 'snob' and 'Veblen' motives of exclusivity and conspicuous cost. Several rooms featured imitation marble wall-plaster, perhaps emulative of high status marble, and there was one in which porphyry had been copied, a much rarer case. A sense of fashion awareness, perhaps coinciding with a desire to express a change in generation or ownership, may explain why some wall decoration was over-painted with a new design (as was also the case at Easton Maudit), and perhaps why a tessellated floor in room 7/9 was later overlaid. A late-third century mosaic in the south wing featured a reverse colouring technique of white on red that Neal and Cosh (2002: 252) describe as 'very unusual in Britain'. This might also be evidence of a desire for differentiation and it may be relevant from the perspective of reference group behaviour that the approach was copied later at Bancroft (20km), another villa where considerations of materialistic and conspicuous display seem paramount (Zeepvat 1994).

The integral bath-suite within the main building of the villa has been interpreted as being for the private use of the owners and presents a number of consumption perspectives. It was finely worked and may be viewed as a 'high-involvement' amenity of special personal importance, and was perhaps a passion of the owners (Solomon 2002: 110-1). For decorative purposes, Portland marble wall panelling was used, carved blocks of Bath stone were provided for bathers, polychrome wall-plaster introduced, and there were fragments of moulded limestone. Attention to standards of maintenance was manifested by seven layers of flooring in the cold baths. Planned, though never completed, late-third century upgrading to the bath-suite is suggested by finds of pre-prepared and unused piles of tesserae. This grouping of exclusive decorative products may be seen as a 'consumption constellation' (ibid 176-7) where the meanings inherent in the luxury items relate to and reinforce each other and serve to define social prestige. Implied additionally by the quality of bathing facilities is hedonistic consumption, understood as 'the multi-sensory, fantasy and emotional

aspects of experience with products (ibid. 43-4). It may be concluded that the Piddington household was assured of its status within the community. Self-image congruence models (ibid 137) recognise that the possessions that are selected will convey 'personality' attributes that correspond cognitively with the self-perceptions of the consumer.

The examples illustrated above also introduce the concept of 'consumption rituals' (McCracken 1990), namely the personalisation of the villa, divestment (the process of making decorative changes to replace perceived associations with earlier owners) and the grooming of possessions (keeping the bath-suite pristine). A fourth, that of the 'exchange ritual', may be evident from finds of 35 pieces of shaped marble from sources in the Mediterranean, Aegean and Asia Minor. Interpreted as *opus sectile* from a piece, or pieces, of high-status inlaid furniture, Roy Friendship-Taylor (pers. comm.) suggests that it may have been imported as a present or diplomatic gift on behalf of an Emperor. Whilst this is possible, such an acquisition is in keeping generally with the materialistic trait that characterises the evidence at Piddington and it cannot be ruled out that this was a self-gift (Solomon 2002: 472), intended as a reward for personal accomplishment. It may be significant that self-gifting behaviour and the 'private psychological investment' that it represents is more usually associated with societies that display a view of the self that is individualistic rather than group-centred (Mick and DeMoss 1990: 330).

There has been a debate within Roman studies as to whether the third century was a time of economic recession, or at least stagnation in villa life (see Todd 1999: 166-70 for a review of some evidence). This is not apparent at Piddington where a late-second century fire saw subsequent complete refurbishment of the main villa building on an exactly like-for-like basis, and which then remained largely unchanged for a hundred years. The third century was perhaps a period at Piddington when it was seen to be desirable to replicate a revered building.

This attempted psychographic (values and lifestyle) analysis of consumption at Piddington offers evidence more in keeping with a cultural profile that expresses individualistic rather than collectivist values. The villa does not obviously conform to the model of architectural duality that Smith (1997) has proposed may be suggestive of kin rather than personal ownership. Even the detached bath-house, adjudged to have been provided for estate workers, is located significantly close to the villa front entrance, and this suggests that householders were especially concerned

that this facility should display status, particularly as it was subsequently improved with a new and separate hot bath. The appearance of two Roman names stamped on the late-second century tiles is perhaps in-keeping with this individualistic interpretation. It can be noted that Snyder and Fromkin (1980: 129-30) point to the stimulation that names can contribute to 'uniqueness' motivation.

Possibly contributing to this interpretation of individualism at Piddington is the substitution during the fourth century of 'traditional' villa life by the 'family units'. The pejorative description of this as 'squatter occupation' may be disingenuous in that it does not explain what the excavators acknowledge was a continuing 'Roman' way of life in terms of material culture. Evidence includes finds of several thousand oyster shells, hundreds of coins dated throughout the century and into the fifth, the presence of fine colour-coated wares, and workshop debris. Blown window glass, then a relatively recent innovation, seems to have been used in most of these buildings. It was also a time when tegulae that were uniquely stamped *PRO* were in use. In this light the operative word for these distinct units, despite its modern overtones, may be 'detached'. This different approach to housing is perhaps suggestive both of a desire for privacy and of a more strongly emerging individualism. Triandis (1995: 25) proposes that the circumstances that encourage such an evolution can include increased affluence, a possible confrontation leading to the break-up of social groups, growing social mobility, the attachment of house ownership to individuals, and the presence of high quality craftsmen, this role typically seen as a lone occupation. Triandis, an expert in the individualism-collectivism field, was asked to comment on a summary of the evidence from Piddington. Harry Triandis (pers.comm.) supports all the inferences favouring the individualistic interpretation that this consumption analysis has offered. He argues that the two cultural syndromes could easily have been present contemporaneously in Roman Britain even a few kilometres apart.

Finally it may be suggested that landscape values helped to shape investment decisions at Piddington, whilst acknowledging that the villa itself was not conspicuously sited. Evidence from aerial photography suggests that it was probably located within 0.5km of, and viewable from, the putative Duston to *Magiovinium* road, a position which would have enabled consumption values to be displayed to passers-by whilst also facilitating visits by those whom it was intended to impress. In addition, fieldwalking suggests that an area around the villa was kept deliberately

devoid of Romano-British settlements. The exception is a grouping of roundhouses on a plateau to the north at the end of the vale of Wootton Brook from where the villa could be viewed and in turn these could be seen directly from its main public rooms (7/9). Topography also ensured that those arriving at Piddington first viewed the property set below from higher ground across a shallow valley. Depending on the date they would immediately see the finely-worked boundary wall, probable gateway, a trellised garden, an exuberantly-coloured exterior plus a bright roofscape dotted with ornamental finials. Architectural consumption totalling around £400,000 (at 1994 prices) would be testimony both to the owners' social identity and his or her personal preferences.

6.2. The personalisation of Redlands Farm

Interpreting the small (approx. 20m x 12m) villa at Redlands Farm (fig.20) using consumer approaches provides an interpretative framework through which to discuss an evolving trajectory of cultural meanings. It offers an alternative to a discourse centred on 'Romanization'. The key reference is Biddulph et al. (2002) and for site details only pagination will now be given. Edward Biddulph has commented upon this case-study.

Located on a site where evidence of late Iron Age timber roundhouses was found (ibid.29), the stone building originated (Phase 2a) in the early-second century as a rectangular two-room watermill (ibid.115) on the edge of the River Nene. The original hall-type structure was converted between the late-second and late-third centuries (2b) into a small winged corridor villa described as 'the first yuppie barn conversion in Britain' (Keevill 1990: 53), and was fitted with a hypocaust. A collapsed 6.5m long wall from the east wing suggests it may have had two storeys (ibid.116). Decorative changes made between the late-third and the later fourth century (2c) included wall painting and the laying of tessellated and mosaic floors. This phase also saw the construction nearby of two stone roundhouses, one 15m in diameter with some domestic use, and among the largest of its kind in the region. The villa declined and was demolished in the late-fourth century.

A social narrative proposed in the excavation report recognises a mixed residential and working function (Phase 2a), evolving Roman values (2b), and eventually (2c), the acquisition of 'some of the luxuries and social obligations of a

Roman lifestyle' (ibid. 133). Rooms 1115 and 1116 are seen as reception rooms, the former featuring a mosaic and serving to display affluence, the latter heated and therefore used for 'convivial' purposes, whilst the possibility is raised that each of them was the main room of a house 'divided into ... two households' (ibid. 120).

It is possible, since no substantial architectural changes took place, that for perhaps a century or longer the watermill served as an unchanging proof of longevity of the family. If this suggestion is correct, although the property could have changed hands, then this is a remarkable length of time, possibly involving up to six generations. It is an issue of continuity that is rarely commented upon in villa reports. This analysis may be set against consumption insights offered by McCracken (1990). As such, it is 'a lesson in the mnemonic power of things' (ibid. 45). The choice of the site, with its prehistoric antecedents, perhaps reinforced this memorial significance. Each successive owner may have been acting as a 'curatorial consumer', responsible for immortalising the ancestral heritage. Redlands watermill, as a consumer possession, served as an 'extension of the self' (Belk 1988), in this case storing feelings attached to the past and serving as an heirloom to recall cherished experiences and the domestic inheritance (ibid.148-9). It is a scenario that at least provides a motive for the integration of the building into the phase 2b villa beyond an otherwise unexplained 'need to incorporate an existing structure' (ibid.133). It demonstrates the potential for agency, the structuring template for human behaviour, to exist in a treasured possession (Miller 2001: 119). The social character of the family may be said to be predominantly tradition-directed (Riesman 1950: 9).

Arguably, this is also an example of the consumption strategy of 'displaced meaning' (McCracken 1990: chapter 7). Introduced above, the theory helps to explain the 'irrational, fantastic, escapist' desire for possessions. It recognises how objects are used as a 'bridge' either to a more acceptable and happier past or to an anticipated golden future. The owners of Redlands Farm could summon the symbolic cultural meanings associated with a revered building whilst outwardly appearing more up-to-date. This interpretation could at least account for the decision to retain such a small house and seek fashionability (i.e. as a Roman villa) on a micro-scale. It is possible that this predisposition was still prevalent up to a hundred or more years later. During this time the villa residential area was not enlarged, and when further accommodation was required the preferred fourth century option was to build a large circular stone building, with mixed domestic and working uses. This contrasts with

the late-fourth century decision at Stanwick 1.5km away, where the villa itself was expanded considerably (Vicky Crosby pers.comm). The decision to return to what appear to be prehistoric roundhouse values whilst outwardly displaying the 'Roman' technique of building in stone, and possibly incorporating window glass, may have recalled distant tribal memories.

Redlands Farm additionally may provide evidence of the 'possession ritual' (McCracken 1990: 85) that is manifested by house 'personalization'. It is appreciated that this process would also have involved 'possession-consciousness' (Appleyard 1979), the choice and display of selected furniture, furnishings and objects, but scope to incorporate such interpretation is limited in archaeology. Nevertheless, the change from a functional building into a winged corridor villa is itself unusual (ibid.129), as is a watermill conversion (but see Turland [1977] for an example of the upgrading during the Roman period of a watermill complex at Wood Burcote, also in Northamptonshire). The phase 2b insertion of a hypocaust required the adaptation of an area used by carts (ibid.45). Three rooms were created out of the pre-villa building to create living space (ibid.43). The wings are unusual, being disproportionately long (at twice the width of the building), originally un-partitioned and not of identical size or exact rectangularity. Further examples of how different owners may have taken possession of the house by adding personalised meanings are the redecoration evident from two plaster layers in room 1115 (ibid.118), known as a 'divestment ritual' (McCracken 1990: 87), and the 'grooming ritual' (ibid.86) inherent in upgrading the hypocaust. This arguably 'high-involvement' possession was improved (it was not an essential repair) with both a more substantial flue and vent and also an improved furnace room (ibid. 48, 56).

The personalization of a house is understood as a psycho-social need to introduce meanings to the environment (Rapoport 1968: 300). The 'house as self' (Cooper 1974) can be an unconscious drive, contributing to what Jung called a 'concretisation of the individuation process', a symbol of 'psychic wholeness' (ibid.140). It reinforces the owners' identity (Becker 1977: 51), is a protective marker of space (ibid.52), contributes to an individual's sense of 'mastery' and represents 'exploratory stimulation' that enhances personal growth (ibid.55). Pleasure is generated through the 'narcissistic' appreciation of a person's own decisions and work (Hirschman 1982: 37). It acts as a 'message to other people about ourselves' (Kron 1983: 60). Customising a house may contribute to its perceived 'warmth', an

essential psychological dimension to the subjective definition of a home (Smith 1994: 43). Rapoport (1995: 35) quotes American research suggesting that the second and third (of a list of 10) 'attributes of a home', after 'security and control', are to reflect 'one's ideas and values' and 'acting upon and modifying one's dwelling', with the expression of status listed eighth. Personalization in architecture can be expressive of the need for esteem (directed at yourself, as well as others), or level four in Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (Lang 2000: 88). Having accepted that owners can have 'different repertoires' (Rapoport 2000: 186), resulting decisions must nevertheless still correspond to identifiable architectural conventions as well as shared attitudes and acceptable symbols within society. The individualization of villas, inside and out, must have been tolerated, and perhaps even encouraged in Roman Britain.

The consumption approach to status known as reference group behaviour may offer insights into the perceived social standing of Redlands Farm. Though its residents are described as having 'high status' (ibid.122), it is seen as having only 'local influence' (ibid.132) compared to the larger neighbouring villa at Stanwick, though remaining independent from it (ibid.133). Based on the evidence of doorways and intercommunication it is suggested that part of the house was sold and the property therefore divided and run as two (ibid.120-1). An alternative starting point is to suggest that this was the villa of a family descended from an old elite which did not need to display wealth ostentatiously through the medium of a house because its prestige was based on lineage, and therefore this counted far more than elaboration (Duncan and Duncan 1976a).

It is possible that social networks in the area were 'impermeable' and consequently 'connectedness' was basically a matter of peer-group relationships, usually involving close friends and family (ibid.249). The tall wing (or probably wings, if symmetry mattered) would have been visible from Stanwick villa (Graham Keevill pers.comm.) and may have been the only reminder of status required. The domestic rooms do not suggest that 'other-directed' reference behaviour was particularly aspirational or a priority. The hypocaust preceded tessellation as a desirable amenity and the central public room (1115), which had a patterned mosaic, was never heated (ibid.121). Improvements to the hypocaust (above) and to the third living room (1114) also suggest more investment in facilities intended for the inner family, the 'primary' reference group, rather than outsiders.

In these terms Redlands Farm may represent an example of a consumption constellation intended to convey what is today called 'homeyness' (McCracken 1989). Whilst this description would normally make reference also to possessions and not just the building, other symbolic dimensions include avoiding uniformity, having strong associations with the family and the past, a reduced level of formality and a strong desire for continuity. Homeyness, if this is a reasonable interpretation, is viewed as a 'status corrector' (ibid. 176-7), a strategy intended to stand back from the 'ceaseless battle for prestige'. This example of the possible eschewal of the status system suggests the possibility that villas in Roman Britain could express a diversity of meanings, and not just a message centred on the necessity of achieving or displaying social importance.

In conclusion, it may be conjectured that Redlands Farm was a villa that displayed little 'status anxiety' and required little 'indexical communication' to display the wealth of its inhabitants (Blanton 1994: 189). If so, we may presume that the owners were comfortable with their local identity and that because the community knew the social standing of the household there was no need for self-advertisement through architectural display. Given the proximity to Stanwick the relationship between the two villas was conceivably that of social equals. It is possible that the villa at Stanwick eventually absorbed the Redlands Farm family. A clue to this is the demolition of Redlands Farm soon after the mid-fourth century and the subsequent, and significantly late, creation of the corridor villa from an aisled hall at Stanwick (Vicky Crosby pers.comm.).

6.3. Reference group behaviour as a guide to the status of Norton Disney

Five stages of development have been recognised (Oswald 1937) at Norton Disney, 14km south of Lincoln. It was an L-shaped villa (fig.21) that took the form of a north-south single-winged corridor house together with an aisled building placed at right angles, and was encompassed by a sequence of possibly concentric ditches.

The site evolved from a late-first century ditched enclosure with post-holes (period 1); through a second century phase featuring a small stone building and timber houses which broadly anticipated the villa's subsequent plan and orientations; before a period 3, early-third century stage comprising the stone corridor house and aisled building, together with an approach road and gate-house. Subsequent phases of

improvement added wall-plaster, mosaics and a hypocaust, and during period 5, a detached bath-house that served to connect the buildings. An enigmatic period 4 structure, known only from solid foundations discovered underneath the bath-house and likely to date from the late-third century, has been discussed as a possible earlier bath-house, a water-tank or look-out tower (ibid. 152).

Various archaeological approaches have sought to explain this evidence, whilst acknowledging the limitations of a 1930s excavation and report. The excavator regarded the enclosures as defensive, correlated the five successive stages to historical events and argued that at the end of each period, the buildings were then destroyed by fire. Subsequent interpretations have questioned the destruction hypothesis (e.g. Todd 1991: 46), labelled the aisled building as 'ancillary' (ibid. 86), and a 'barn' (Whitwell 1982: 104), and viewed the villa overall as 'modest' and 'relatively small' (Bédoyère 1993: 64-5). Hingley (1989: 69) suggests that the aisled house would be considered a villa if appraised on a stand-alone basis. Elaboration of parts of the aisled hall through internal sub-division and upgrading in the fourth century has been taken by Smith (1997: 293) to represent on its own the equivalent status of an upgraded corridor house and he saw this as evidence of comparability in the social standing of the Norton Disney buildings, viewing them as two 'unit system' households. This differs from Smith's earlier assessment (1963: 13), that the equivalent of a lord occupied the dwelling house which became unified socially with the aisled building, the latter being used as a 'semi-public hall' for dining, feasting or court use. Scott (1990: 165) considers the 'visually impressive' enclosures at Norton Disney as symbolic of ownership and mastery at a time of changing and challenging economic circumstances. Comparisons are often made with two similar buildings at Mansfield Woodhouse villa (33 km) in respect of their basic size, configuration, orientation and features within the aisled house (e.g. Stead 1976: 89).

Consumption-led perspectives provide scope for a different narrative. The 'costing' formula can provide a benchmark figure for the overall investment represented by the villa in period 5, with the caveat that the scale on Oswald's plan was wholly inaccurate, and because of this building estimates are therefore based on the version used by Whitwell (1992: 85). In broad terms the aisled building at that time 'cost' £177,000 including improvements (a mosaic and hypocaust), contrasting with £105,000 for the two-mosaic corridor house (a differential which supports

Hingley, above), with the bath-house a further £75,000. It is possible that the bathing facility, whilst notionally detached, was in fact connected to the aisled house (Oswald 1937: 155), adding to that building's social significance. In Newman's financial terms Norton Disney overall was a 'palatial' villa, and the status-through-consumption index suggests that the proportion spent on improvements was around 25%.

Reference group behaviour may provide discernible motives for the successive development phases at Norton Disney. Significant individuals or groups can influence a person's conduct. This perspective may provide insights into the potentially different social networks at whom status-enhancing architectural consumption may over time have been targeted. People can experience a variety of group memberships and a hierarchy of statuses (Hyman and Singer 1968: 4), but given the significance and permanence of decisions to invest in housing, arguably such expenditure should be revealing of the ranked importance of the social comparisons and judgements that they seek (Stafford 1966: 68-9).

Whilst it is possible that indications of late Iron Age occupation were missed (Oswald 1937: 139-40), there is a strong sense that aspirational reference behaviour, in this case conforming to 'Roman' values, mattered here, at least initially. Located on a ridge of high land 200m east of the Fosse Way, the position of the first house was easily visible to travellers, and views were considerable, and that these two considerations were significant is suggested given the poor farming prospects of a site that was noticeably marshy (ibid. 139). Deliberate ostentation is more commonly associated with a new, rather than a traditional, elite and this might explain why no signs of site continuity were found. To the observable, or publicly-consumed, luxury that a house represents can be added finds of imported pottery, a privately-consumed luxury. Both categories of possession are strongly influenced by peer pressures (Childers and Rao 1992: 200-1). This is value-expressive, or identificational, reference behaviour (Arnould 2002: 545) that suggests a wish to be psychologically and socially connected with the Roman world. It can be a strong inspiration both for personal change and detachment from a previous social context. Further symbolism may be implied in distant views from the site to the hilltop fortress, and later the *colonia* in Lincoln (Jones 1999: 102), and also to *Crocolana* (3km), which was at a level 30m lower in height on the plain below. Evidence from pottery and coins suggests that it was settled from the first century (Page 1910).

Subsequent site history suggests that an enthusiasm for Roman values persisted. Both the stone building of period 2 and the corridor house of period 3 were positioned nearest to the road, and the distinctive circuit of ditches, if taken as an expression of status, was probably also apparent to travellers. The unexplained structure (above) may have been a granary, positioned so as to be a conspicuous expression of agricultural abundance. A second unexplained room, also to the west of the villa and again in full view of the road, was proposed as a granary (Oswald 1937: 157; but see Morris 1979: 37), and its location does suggest a status-seeking role. The period 5 detached bath-house may additionally have been sited specifically in order to be seen from the road. Possibly also significant was the decision to position the one mosaic in the aisled house in the north-west corner, from where the road could be observed, rather than in the hypocausted room in the improved south-east part of the building, and from where the bath-house would have blocked that direction of view. Two mosaics in the corridor building imply that reception activities took place in those rooms, from at least one of which a view to the road was at least possible.

Not all architectural investment at Norton Disney was focused towards Rome as the sole referent 'other'. A model noted in the east Midlands suggests that aisled house rectangularity expressed Roman values outwardly, but inside retained the 'central-communal, peripheral-domestic' spatial structure of the roundhouse (Taylor 2001: 50-2), with later internal improvements constituting a hybrid arrangement. In consumption terms this may reflect a displaced meaning strategy that evoked ancestral memories. Certainly in terms of 'cost', and presumably also the contrasting scale of the buildings, the intended symbolism implies a continuing, new or renewed emphasis on traditional, possibly tribal, loyalties. Perhaps by the third and fourth centuries the social and cultural novelty of Rome was being matched by a preference for more local and time-honoured social relationships. SMR records from Nottinghamshire show that there are more than 20 Romano-British sites (identified either by cropmarks, pottery scatters, coins, artefacts or other evidence) within 3km of the villa, with a further six sites within this radius identified by the Lincolnshire SMR. It may be significant that the monumental entrance to the aisled building, and the positioning of the gate-house, both face east. This may reflect a continuing or a revitalised allegiance to an Iron Age tradition for the entrances of roundhouses to face the rising sun.

A third category of reference behaviour, that of intergenerational family influence, may explain the upgrading of the southern parts of the aisled house, with an entrance hall, hypocaust, wall-plaster and direct link to the bath-house (Oswald 1937: 154-5). Pressures from an extended family are stronger than peer pressures for privately consumed luxuries (Childers and Rao 1992: 201).

It is possible that the two buildings, and also in the case of Mansfield Woodhouse, represent not the dual household concept (Smith 1997), but instead an example of 'status equilibration' (Sherif 1968: 89). It is a phenomenon wherein asymmetrical sources or definitions of status are brought to equality. It arises from the discrepancies of status that people may experience when trying to relate to different reference groups and results in an attempt to bring the different measures of status to a consistent level (Sherif and Sherif 1969: 425-6). This can prompt additional efforts to reconcile status within those reference groups in which the individual had a relatively lower standing.

In the case of Norton Disney, the more manifest prestige and Romanness of the corridor villa was perhaps being equalled symbolically through higher overall expenditure in the aisled house. To bring discrepant statuses to a perception of comparability between the two buildings, possibly also the hypocaust in the aisled house was viewed as just as important an amenity as was a mosaic in the corridor building, and perhaps the link into the bath-house additionally contributed to the importance and status of the former structure. As Smith (above) suggests, there may have been two separate groupings of people at this villa, but their status rating was brought into line because overall consumption had rendered the two buildings equal, and not simply because the households enjoyed a consanguinous relationship.

6.4. Lifestyle planning as an explanation for consumer motives at Bancroft

The concept of 'lifestyle' has been modish in society during the last 20 years and it is becoming a vogue term in Roman studies. White and Barker (1998: 69) propose that farmers in the Wroxeter hinterland changed their lifestyle from an 'old fashioned native roundhouse .. to a more comfortable Roman villa'. Bédoyère (1999: 14) describes a 'distinctive rural lifestyle based on the possession of immense estates, and

the patronage of artisans'. Others characterise the villa lifestyle as 'exclusive and cultured' (Scott 2000: 175), 'Romanized' (Hingley and Miles 2002: 159), integral to 'provincial culture' (Sargent 2002: 225), reflected by 'high quality decoration .. and the sophistication of facilities' (Huskinson 2002: 129), and suggest that it was conveyed through 'prestige artefacts, privately-owned .. villas, and associated display and behaviour' (James 2001b: 206). Woolf (1998) uses the word lifestyle frequently when discussing the conduct of the Gallo-Roman elite (for example, on pages 157, 162, 164, 166, 168.). The expression is creeping into villa reports (e.g. Neal 1996a: 44; Mackey 1998: 28).

Anderson and Golden (1984: 405-7) have reviewed the origins and interpretations of the lifestyle construct. It is seen as a system of possessions that is symbolic of a desired way of life, and is an integrated response to a person's cognitive and behavioural processes. The concept, however, is said to lack definition, precision or a theoretical basis, and the authors recommend limiting its focus to consistent 'patterns of overt behaviour' (ibid. 409) that take place within a given situational and environmental context. The result can be lifestyle analysis by segmentation, with each segment, or sub-section of the population, a reflection of consumption decisions.

This insight may be applicable, with caveats, to villa studies. The intention here is to suggest its potential rather than present a precise approach. Two conceptual presumptions have to be made: first, that the patterning of amenities within a house can be 'read' by observers in terms of the lifestyle that was intended or achieved at a given time, and evidence supporting this has been introduced; and second, that Romanists today could devise a lifestyle questionnaire that might be revealing of the contrasting motives of house owners, and if so, that they could complete this by acting the role of surrogate householder following a viewing of any given villa plan. The aim would be to work towards an interpretative tool that both classifies and offers an explanation for the manifest variability of the evidence.

A successful technique on similar lines that is applied by organisations undertaking research into market behaviour is known as VALS (Values and Lifestyle System). Devised in the 1970s by the American business consultancy SRI International (www.sric-bi.com.vals), the construct uses psychology to look beyond factors such as wealth, age or education. In its original conception this consumer profiling scheme was derived from Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and Riesman's

theory of social character (Kahle et al. 1986). In its more evolved form the dimensions taken into account are those of primary motivations and personality traits. The former recognises that people can be classified in three ways: by their ideals (principle-oriented); by a desire for success and achievement (status-oriented); or by self-expression (action-oriented); the latter includes variables such as intellectualism, novelty-seeking, leadership or vanity. By self-completing a 39-point VALS questionnaire (Appendix 6) respondents are placed in one of eight lifestyle segments that are seen to reflect the American experience.

In an experiment, archaeologists were shown plans of the most developed mid-fourth century phase at Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994: 176-7), and each given a verbal two-minute contextualised summary of the architectural and decorative evidence before being asked to complete the survey. This period was one of major redevelopment at the winged corridor building (1), and involved laying mosaics, creating a garden, adding a corridor and porch, extending one bath-suite, and constructing another (ibid. 175). Those participating were the author, Bancroft excavator Bob Zeepvat, and Roman archaeologists Richard Hingley, Jennifer Price and Jeremy Taylor. It was stressed that each should respond as if they were the fourth century owner and therefore were expected to empathise with the likely attitudes, interests and opinions that the householder(s) at the time may have had.

Intuitively, some questions can be associated with villa circumstances as currently recognised by archaeologists, for example, those relating to showing off, being in fashion, providing leadership, etc. Others, such as those referring to making things, the role of women or views on religion, require the respondent to make a judgement based on their perception of equivalent circumstances in Roman Britain. Despite this manifestly flawed and anachronistic approach, it is hoped that the VALS survey can nevertheless provide a less subjective and more quantifiable interpretation of current approaches to villa values and lifestyles, and provide the basis of an approach that can be transferred from site to site.

The assessment, made electronically, results in the designation of both primary and secondary definitions of lifestyle segment, or type, selected from eight. These are: Innovators, Thinkers, Achievers, Experiencers, Believers, Strivers, Makers and Survivors. Three of the replies (RH, CM, BZ) were identical, and recognised the dominant approach to life of the Bancroft owner(s) as being that of the Innovator, with a secondary classification, which represents a particular emphasis given to the

dominant approach, being that of the Experienter. Innovators are described as 'successful, sophisticated people with high self-esteem' .. 'change leaders (who) are the most receptive to new ideas' .. (to whom) 'image is important, not as evidence of status or power, but as an expression of their taste, independence and personality. Their possessions and recreation reflect a cultural taste for finer things in life'. Experiencers are 'motivated by self-expression' (who seek) 'variety and excitement' and are 'avid consumers (who) spend a comparatively high proportion of their income on fashion, entertainment and socialising'. The two other Bancroft interpretations (JP and JT) both selected the Experienter as the primary type with either an Achiever as the secondary classification (JT), or Innovator (JP). Achievers are characterised by 'goal-oriented lifestyles' 'structured around family, their place of worship and work' ... (for whom) 'image is important' (and who favour) 'established prestige products and services that demonstrate success to their peers'. Not recognised at Bancroft were the categories known as Thinkers ('conservative .. and motivated by ideals'); Believers (a more pronounced version of Thinkers); Strivers ('concerned about the approval of others' ... (who favour) 'stylish products that emulate the purchases of people with greater material wealth'); Makers ('motivated by self-expression'); or Survivors ('few resources .. comfortable with the familiar .. cautious consumers').

Such insights may be contrasted with those proposed by other archaeologists to characterise Bancroft villa. The explanations offered for the quantity and quality of mosaics are those of 'prosperity' and 'investment' (Smith 1994: 258). Branigan (1985: 116) suggests the owner was 'highly Romanised' but of 'modest means'. Bédoyère (1999: 98) describes Bancroft as having aspects of a 'great villa' but which 'never developed beyond' a winged corridor building.

For comparative purposes the exercise was repeated for Site 2 at Empingham (Cooper 2000), an aisled building that showed some signs of aggrandizement, including a hypocaust, possible small bath-suite and wall-plaster that featured Egyptian blue. An illustration of the villa (ibid. 17) was presented to Nick Cooper (who edited the Empingham study), Jennifer Price and Jeremy Taylor. None selected the high-resources, high-innovation, high-consumption characteristics that had been recognised at Bancroft. Instead, the common segment selected was that of 'Achiever', a type that perhaps reflects the aspirational values of the owners and their

tentative efforts at upgrading. The secondary emphasis varied and was that of the Innovator (NC), Striver (JP) and Thinker (JT).

Discussions with the Stanford Research Institute (Charles Stancomb pers.comm.) make it apparent that constructing a retro VALS battery would be difficult, though conceivable, and would require considerable consensus amongst archaeologists. The concept can be developed to allow for cross-cultural variation (for example, SRI observe a completely different set of segments within Japan). It has also been used by house builders and reveals, for example, that Makers like big kitchens where the family can congregate, whereas Achievers prefer small kitchens and large dining/social rooms for status-enhancing purposes.

It may be concluded that such a segmentation approach could provide an alternative approach to villa classification than one which relies heavily on arguments of status. Consumption 'communities' acquire similar possessions, and complementary 'constellations' of these, as the basis for conveying a symbolic 'consumption lifestyle' (Fournier et al. 1992: 329). Such a behavioural typology might or might not reflect social prestige, but it would permit villas in different areas and of different types to be more easily compared.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

7.1. Reviewing the argument

The contribution to villa research made by this thesis relates to the use that is made of the study of modern consumer behaviour, and the interdisciplinary influences that this embraces, as a perspective with which to consider archaeological evidence.

This work has been supported using two contrasting approaches. The first is a modern ‘costing’ analogy for the building and aggrandizing of villas that allows us to demonstrate, and make comparable, a perception of the economic and psychological issues that might have confronted the owner. The second has been the introduction of case-studies which discuss aspects of consumption on villas using insights that extend existing academic arguments. It is contended that, as a result of studies of this type, Romanists will be able in future to apply consumer arguments to the villa phenomenon in ways that are more rigorous, contextualised and nuanced. This helps to avoid risks associated with interpretation that is derived from introspection, whilst also augmenting the range of consumption hypotheses that may be of relevance. An increasingly scientific analysis of the human responses involved within consumer behaviour is further strengthening our understanding of the complex issues that are involved (Kardes 2002: chapter 1). The application of such an approach to an archaeological context also serves to extend this work to a new body of material.

A feature of this work has been to examine archaeological evidence in a non-insular way, and instead to introduce observations drawn from cross-disciplinary reading and from an introductory collaboration with academics across the social sciences. Consumer analysis involves specialists with a broad diversity of interests, including economics, semiotics, social psychology, sociology and personality differences, and their points of view can help archaeology to transcend its paradigmatic constraints. Inherent in consumer behaviour is a focus on social, or macro-influences at one end of a continuum, and personal, or micro-influences at the other. Traditionally villa specialists (and Roman archaeologists in general) have tended to concentrate on the former, and to discuss the aggregate behaviour of the elite, whether at a societal, tribal or local level. One outcome of this has been to favour broad and generalised explanations for socio-cultural change irrespective of

whether the preferred structure is Roman, indigenous or a conflation of these. In contrast, the consumption model allows us to get closer to the decision-making of the individual. The consumer perspective means that we do not have to presume that people were identical and behaved identically, or that peer pressure served to eliminate all freedom of choice. As Arnold (2001: 212) argues, 'there would be no cultural change if this assumption held true'.

A more comprehensive understanding of consumer conduct enables us to look with increased confidence for signs of personal preference in the archaeological record. Equally this means we should be more wary of drawing general conclusions about elite lifestyles from specific examples of their engagement with material culture. Instead, the consumer perspective provides a coherent framework within which we can approach variability in a positive, structured and explicit way. This paradigm perhaps goes some way to contextualizing the 'discrepant experiences' and 'hidden transcripts' recognised in Roman Britain by Mattingly (1997: 14), and to respond to his call for explanations that do not rely on 'a simple pattern of emulation behaviour' (ibid. 17). Whilst this thesis can fairly be accused of applying (post)modern arguments to reinvent ancient culture (Golden and Toohey 1997) what it does not do is rely on randomly selected and fragmentary insights drawn from subjective experience or observer bias.

Instead this research has questioned many of the assumptions that archaeologists make when using concepts such as conspicuous consumption, status, fashion, person-possession relationships, comfort, identity and the psychology of consumer behaviour. Romanists can now take into account such potentially valuable constructs as symbolic self-completion, status crystallization, fashion cycles, multiple selves and the self-concept, consumption constellations, the extended self, possession rating scales, impression management, meaning transfer, reference group behaviour, and the Individualism-Collectivism model. Of particular interest are approaches currently being made to understand the 'personology' of the consumer (Baumgartner 2002) and the varying effect of traits and other internalised determinants of individual behaviour. It is this focus on genetic inheritance, introduced within this study, that affords scope to explain identity and aspects of consumption from the 'inside-out' rather than the structured 'outside-in', or societally-determined approach favoured by sociologists (Desmond 2003: 226-7). It allows us to recognise how both approaches interact. It is acknowledged that not all of the consumer perspectives summarised

above will necessarily provide the correct interpretation for the evidence noted in the case-studies, but it has been shown that they do at least provide a situated approach to describing and explaining the material.

It is appreciated that the pace of diffusion of new ideas was much slower in the ancient world and that 'fashion' would have been a less dynamic process than today. Because of this it is unlikely that possessions served to construct personal identities to the same extent as happens now, but nevertheless this may have been the one way in which members of the elite could act to differentiate (or individualise) themselves in a tightly knit but nevertheless socially competitive community. Certainly some of the evidence provided by the classical literature and the variability of the evidence for villa construction in the study area suggests that such personalisation was condoned, or perhaps even welcomed.

It is for this reason that so much emphasis has been placed on the phenomenological changes that Roman roads brought about. The communications network inevitably fossilised and choreographed the way people travelled and fixed the order in which they came to places. Roads represented neutral space, in both the physical and the psychological sense, and moving about no longer required permission to cross proscribed territory. It became possible to predict where important people would be – travelling on the road. This channelling effect made it likely that the randomness of contact essential to the 'small world' model of social contagion, or transfer of ideas, would take place. Additionally, it also placed a premium on behaving ostentatiously through the medium of the villa. Elite trappings of display in the town *forum* no doubt included dress, personal decoration and the presence of attendants, but real wealth was manifested through architectural consumption in the countryside, the originality of one's property and the inference of land ownership. Whilst Laurence (2001) is correct to stress how the road, villa and town served collectively to integrate the cultural geography of the province, the relevance of towns to this process arguably mattered to the elite more in terms of their social as opposed to their personal identity, and ultimately far less for this public image as towns declined in importance. Archaeologists point to a switch in the patterning of power over time in favour of rural areas (Millett 1990: 195-6), but this is only half the story. It is true that villas became synonymous with elite ostentation, but only by relating this motive to the network of roads is the real context for such impression management brought into play. It was essential to be seen, and to show

off, but it was proximity to and accessibility from the road that satisfied this requirement of the aristocratic ego in a way that 'unfashionable' towns would do increasingly less well. This possibly also explains why small towns often show relatively little locational attraction to villas (ibid. 195).

7.2. Towards a consumer interpretation for Roman villas

Discussion of this kind is limited to terms used in social geography and overlooks the real change in society that villas both reflect and helped bring about, which was the process of psychological change within the individual. After Woolf (1998: chapters 6 and 7), it may be accepted that Romanization is best viewed as a change in the way people, and especially the elite, consumed. Seen in this light it may not be necessary to look for a model of acculturation *per se*, nor one that has to be demonstrably coherent and consistent over space and time. The consumption argument is one that can stand irrespective of whether the perceived dynamic is seen to be deliberate Roman imperialism, gradual cultural assimilation, reactance on the part of indigenous peoples or some other cross-cultural variant (*cf* Champion 2004: chapter 4). The consumer-centric model may also be applicable at other levels of society and for evidence from other classifications of settlement, although this will require further study.

Whilst, of course, the act of consuming in the context of a greater choice of opportunities so to do is itself an outcome of the cultural change (indeed transformation) that made this behaviour possible, the emphasis is placed firmly on the individual and how he or she reacts and the unique nature of this process. Social conventions that shaped Roman practice were certainly in place and set the terminal goals for consumption, but the instrumental actions by which these goals were negotiated would have varied by person and by situation. This formula helps us to examine each villa with the anticipation of evidence that arises from the interaction between personal variability and an ever-changing and already heterogeneous repertoire of cultural opportunities, and for which social meanings were constantly in play.

The result is that there is another, and exciting, dimension to consider. Once we have accepted that standardization is the exception rather than the norm, we can side-step the requirement to generalise upon, or to quantify (Cherry 1998: 78), the

changes that exposure to *Romanitas* brought about. We are looking, instead, for the individuality that corresponds to the idea that identity was created through possessions. Ironically, this is already a conclusion that archaeologists tend inadvertently and non-explicitly to make without realising that this is the subjective postmodern experience of us all today in our role as mass consumers. In the ancient world, however, such identification with material culture is thought not to have been possible (at least according to researchers in selfhood – see Dittmar 1992: 191-4). The evidence from villas, however, suggests that decisions to acquire amenities were only partially guided by social expectations. As this study illustrates, large and small villas alike confound us with their different and often contrary repertoire of facilities. This in itself may suggest that researchers in selfhood have drawn too clear a distinction between the present and the past.

Such diversity could of course owe simply to differing levels of wealth. The unpredictability could also be an outcome of singular and unknowable events in the lives of the owners, arising from family, kin, or societal circumstances. If we had more evidence of the right quality from more villas in closer proximity we might also be able to discuss whether such variations represented a tribal or sub-tribal response.

On the other hand this study proposes that the elite were becoming consumers in the terms that we today would understand. But it wasn't merely the consumption of a culture that had tempted them, but equally the actual act of consuming. There is therefore more than a grain of truth to be read into the remarks of Tacitus (*Agricola*. 21) that point to the 'civilising' of the native elite. Whilst inevitably this is rosy self-justifying propaganda on behalf of his father-in-law and for the ideals of conquest, the all-important phrase is that *humanitas* is 'a facet of slavery'. Exactly so, because the British elite, or some of them, were being seduced by the psychological pleasures of consuming and to do so in new and more public ways. Acquiring a villa (or making the first step towards acquiring a villa lifestyle which might in fact be quite modest compared with what followed decades or centuries later) was irrational behaviour compared to what had characterised elite lifestyles a matter of only a few generations before. Through a process of social contagion, the acquisitiveness habit in Roman society that was manifest in the popularity of villas in Republican Italy was transmitted throughout the north-west Provinces. A characteristic of modern consumption is that people are never satisfied. For enslavement therefore read insatiability. The demand to consume was brought about through the mental stimulus

of fantasizing about consumption pleasures to come. This phenomenon of imaginative hedonism (Campbell 1987) is what drives consumer behaviour today but perhaps it had become a characteristic of Roman elite experience. Located in the mind, and divorced from reality, this illusion-driven consumption is neither imitative nor emulative of others (ibid. 90), but is constructed as a day-dream within the person concerned.

This is not to argue that the specificity of modern consumption existed in the same way in the past. Depending on the time and place, decisions might be enacted through the currency of embedded social exchange rather than money, and perhaps through reciprocity and not commercial transaction. Nevertheless, resources (even if they were drawn from a fund of goodwill or from favours arising from patronage, past and predicted) were allocated in pursuit of what may be viewed as the luxury of a villa, in the sense that this cultural symbol was an inessential. What Romanization really represented was therefore the creation of desire. Wants replaced needs, novelty came to matter more than continuity, personalisation rated higher than standardization, and the experience of fashion challenged the time-honoured preference for the traditional and unchanging. Outwardly the elite embraced the Roman vision. Internally, however, they were acting out newly-emerging fantasies that in addition to a discourse of power could owe also to motives driven by personality traits and increasingly individualistic values. It is this burgeoning individuality, both inspired and reflected by possessions, that was the real result of the Roman conquest. Society became more individualistic, less collectivist; the elite self became more independent, less interdependent. Each villa reflects this psychological evolution. From roundhouse to rectangular building to villa is more about the development of the persona, not a type of construction. The idea of the proto-villa misses the point; it is the proto-consumer that we see. The aisled villa, with its collectivist undertones of correspondence with roundhouse values, is the halfway house: part-collectivist, part-individualistic. The introduction in these buildings over time of internal partitions and aggrandizement was a manifestation of growing individualism.

At the level of culture, or at least that of the elite ingroup, the emerging new psychology tended towards individualisation and was a consequence of the impetus brought about by factors like education, new forms of leadership, travel, exposure to Roman culture and changes in religious practice (*cf* Triandis 1995). There were more

people who could be classed as idiocentric. This is a broad statement, and within Roman Britain even amongst the elite there could be an infinity of gradations in the continuum between collectivism and individuality, a construct which also recognises either a vertical emphasis, denoting hierarchy, or a horizontal emphasis, denoting equality. Both horizontal and vertical forms of collectivism subsume the individual to varying degrees, whereas in individualistic societies the horizontal individualist wants to be unique but not seem superior to others, and is in contrast to the vertical individualist who wants both to achieve and display his or her dominance. Such diversity (and complexity) would have been manifest in different parts of the province.

It is against this model that villas can in future be assessed: as more or less collectivist, where the accent is on the aisled building, or as more or less individualist, where the accent is on personal (as well as architectural) aggrandizement. At the level of the person, or at least the household, we can also at a given moment 'read' the villa evidence in order to interpret human values (Schwartz, forthcoming). For example, do we recognise values (fig.10) that reflect self-transcendence and tradition, or alternatively those that reveal an openness to change and self-enhancement? Is the accent apparently on conformity and benevolence, or stimulation and hedonism?

In Britain we should recognise variations in the response to Roman ways in terms of a tension that existed between the strength of the prevailing values of the group, and which were more or less collectivist, and the evolving values of individualism. This could apply equally at the level of a society, and within a person. It is perhaps for such reasons that villas emerge earlier or later in some places compared to others and why therefore there could be apparent one-offs in a given area. We do not need to look for exceptional reasons like a veteran settler or a high noble, because the explanation for such variability lay not so much within a role as within the nature of the community or within the individual. This is also why the choice of status symbols could vary so much in time and space for these again are a response to the orientation of societal and personal values. We should remember here that there is an increasingly strong evidence of correspondence between values and inheritable traits (p105).

There was a price to pay for this gradual transformation within society and within each person. A concomitant characteristic of a culture in which some people consume conspicuously is a change from 'envy avoidance' to 'envy provocation'

(Belk 1995b: 3). Pre-Roman tribal behaviour in Britain focused on the former, with elite consumption channelled on behalf of others to be shared through feasting or buried/hoarded to avoid ill-will (or even divine ill-will). Consumption that is acceptable within the group is that which is for the group and is displayed in public and seen by the group. Resentment grows when luxury becomes enjoyed by a few and experienced in private and is therefore no longer seen as a contribution to the identity of the group.

This model of emergent covetousness introduces another way to consider villas and the effect of their diffusion and proliferation over time. The increasingly visible architectural consumption that they represented was no longer exceptional behaviour but became far more widespread (albeit expressed in smaller properties). The insight that follows is drawn from 'strain theory' in society (Merton 1968) which holds that deviant behaviour is not brought about by sudden change, but is a by-product of the prevailing social structure and the goals which it offers to its members. It is probable that three centuries after the conquest Roman Britain was a less hierarchical and more complex society and that consequently there ought to have been more scope for social mobility, for a bigger minority at least. Society's goals of wealth, status and power ought in theory, for perhaps the first time, to have been more accessible. Merton (ibid. 194-211) proposes that when there is not equal access to such socially-approved goals then individuals have recourse to one of five adaptive strategies: conform and abide by the rules; reduce expectations; adopt an innovative but basically corrupt response; retreat, and opt-out; or most significant for this study, to rebel. Deviance, or alienation, or rebellion, is therefore seen as a normal adjustment to an unequal society. It is proposed here that the ending of the Roman way of life in the early-fifth century and the decline of the villa habit over a period of 50 years beforehand, is at least in part evidence of just such an unhealthy imbalance that had grown between goals and means, and in the unequal opportunities that existed by which to acquire wealth in socially legitimate ways. Recognising that the prevailing mood had changed – that such a sense of public opinion could even have existed is a testament to the evolutionary changes in values that had occurred – the owners of villas could no longer justify their privileged and ostentatious existence. It is possible that wealth was switched to more portable artefacts, including silver plate.

Explanations for the ending of Roman rule tend to look for external causes, among them barbarian attacks and collapsing Roman control which led to economic

breakdown. But the ending had been more of a gradual downturn which Esmonde Cleary (2004: 425) notes was characterised by 'a progressive cessation of consumption', notably of the trappings of power and social prestige. This observation supports the argument being made here. The villa lifestyle went out of fashion because it was no longer acceptable (and was indeed dangerous) to provoke resentment. It was an inevitable outcome of the switch from collectivism to the individualistic and self-interested values that centuries of emerging consumer behaviour had brought about.

7.3. Applying a consumer perspective to research agendas and excavation reports

A sub-text within this thesis has been the suggestion that consumer behaviour theories provide scope in villa studies to look for the influence of individuals as part of a broader discussion of the consumption of material culture. The former places emphasis on motives, the latter on discernible distributions viewed over space and time with possible explanations for these. Current archaeological agendas for the Roman period point to the need to embrace both approaches. On the one hand, Hill (2001: 13) argues that agency should be a consideration when we assess how people used material culture to fashion an identity. In a similar vein, Taylor (2001: 49) acknowledges the likely role of the household in decision-making. In contrast, Perring et al. (2002: 11) suggest that town-country research can examine 'peaks of consumption' within 'a landscape of consumption' as the basis for classifying settlements. Within a London context, Nixon et al. (2002: 42) propose that patterns of spatial and chronological consumption can pinpoint differences between groups and households. Such recommendations can translate into suggestions for integrating consumer perspectives within reports of villa excavations. To be successful any business has to place the customer at the heart of its thinking, and perhaps this philosophy can apply also within archaeology. For illustrative purposes this section will concentrate on a selection from the topics and themes introduced in this study.

An issue is whether stand-alone reports for villas can ever be fully interpretive. These properties almost certainly did not function in social isolation. Whilst making allowances for the available evidence and the resources available, it is

rarely the case that reports do more than make passing references to other settlements nearby. As examples, there is no such discussion in the case of Rudston (Stead 1980), a couple of pages only with which to contextualise Beadlam (Neal 1996a: 40, 44-5), and only four have been allocated for this purpose from the 300 pages used to interpret Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990: 279-83). The advantage that comparison with neighbouring villas and non-villas can afford, subject to their contemporaneity, is an insight into reference group behaviour and thereby a possible sense of the social relationship between settlements. The inclusion of details of known or probable roads would introduce the possibility that a wider orbit of influence may also be inferred. The report for Castle Copse villa in Wiltshire (Hostetter and Flusche 1997) provides a good example of the desirable minimum level of detail. All SMR records that coincide with the evolution of the site have been listed (ibid. Appendix 1) and mapped (ibid. 24 and 25). Distances are given in general terms from 24 known or possible villas to the administrative and market town of *Cunetio*, and also from these villas to major roads, and additionally between villas (ibid. 64-7).

By building on such data, two consumer insights may become apparent. The first is the idea that inter-visibility and viewability were issues that probably mattered in this villa landscape, and perhaps was deliberately espoused behaviour, as Figures 17 and 18 in this thesis suggest. The second is that the location and nature of the villa, as proposed in a case-study for Norton Disney, can provide clues to its reference group relationships. Superiority over non-villa households, equality with comparable villas, or differentiation intended to display uniqueness to a wider or provincial audience, including members of the imperial, provincial and local elite travelling by road, are potentially approachable perspectives.

A 'costing' formula of the kind outlined in this work, with appropriate circumspection, might provide a further basis for inter-site comparisons, ideally based on corresponding phases. For an individual villa an assessment could be made that identifies the investment (in percentage terms) that distinguishes between the lower and higher levels of the Maslow hierarchy of needs. Particular attention would be paid to those features that appear to relate to status, and which in this study have been discussed in terms of a status-through-consumption index. Comparisons both over time and with other villas could be attempted, and a sense of the innovativeness of the household assessed. The bigger picture is to look for evidence of the workings of the

fashion cycle for respective amenities by noting broadly the timing and duration of the diffusion of each.

The concept of 'consumption constellations' could be introduced, the analysis of the degree to which each villa features the 'full' repertoire of complementary 'Roman' amenities. Possessions are acquired that have congruence with self-image. Those likely to be most 'measurable' because they tend to provide surviving evidence are hypocausts, mosaics and bath-suites, together with fragments of window glass and also pieces of wall-plaster that might reveal a sense of its original quality. It is an exercise that could then be 'costed', or even interpreted visually against norms evaluated from analysis of these amenities in villas of the same architectural type (and preferably of the same period) elsewhere within the tribal territory or from an abstracted region. Such comparisons could reveal evidence of exceptions or deviation from conformity and be suggestive at that time of a particularly dominant personality trait, such as hedonism, materialism, narcissism or a preference for voluntary simplicity. The changing balance of investment in improvements over time, from those that perhaps can be argued as reflecting collectivist values, to those conveying a higher degree of individualism, could offer a further insight.

An overall conclusion might be drawn by the excavators as to their perceptions of the self-presentation strategies intended by the household at particular times and how the villa therefore contrasted as a psychological entity from its nearest neighbours. According to context it may be arguable that developments which appear incongruous reflect the act of symbolic self-completion, or that an example of particularly ostentatious display was the conduct of a high self-monitor. A sense of the status crystallization of the household might be apparent. Explanations for the changing pattern of architectural consumption over time need not look for external or societal causes but may instead assess the evidence for inter-generational changes in conduct.

Finally, at the level of micro-consumption this thesis has identified scope to approach the interpretation of finds in a more consumer-centric way. As examples, wall-plaster pigments can be classified by tone more accurately using Munsell charts and analysed for chemical make-up and the application of specialist techniques using Raman spectroscopy; window glass fragments can be plotted in relation to the likely buildings from which they fell; and mosaics interpreted using a suggested possessions-rating scale. More subtle aspects of impression management may be

discernible from the use of particular building materials and in eye-catching ways, together with the attention or otherwise paid to repairs or restorations. In all these ways the ideas that archaeologists use to approach the materials that we study can feed back into the strategies by which we collect and process villa evidence in the future.

APPENDIX 1.

Villa excavators, specialist archaeologists and other professionals who were contacted during this study. Their help is acknowledged and they are hereby thanked

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Peter Temin
Stephen Upex
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Edward Biddulph
Nicholas Cooper
Janet DeLaine
Roy Friendship-Taylor
Brian Hartley
Graham Keevill
Ian Lawton
Rodney Mackey
Graham Morgan
Richard Pollard
Christine Shaw
Martin Tingle
Susan Walker
Stuart Wrathmell

SMR staff

Cambridgeshire
Derbyshire
Humberside (East
Yorkshire plus Hull)
Leicestershire
Lincolnshire
Northamptonshire
North Lincolnshire
North Yorkshire
Nottinghamshire

Tim Reynolds, Sarah Poppy
Gill Stroud

Elizabeth Chamberlin
Richard Knox
Marc Bennet; Sarah Grundy
Susan Freebury; Charlotte Walker
Mike Hemblade
Linda Smith; Nick Boldrini
Virginia Baddeley

Peterborough
West Yorkshire

Ben Robinson
Ian Sanderson

Others

Landscape gardener

Rodney Casey (Lodge Lane Nursery,
Dutton, Cheshire)

Vineyards

Beeches Vineyard

Chilford Hall

Frome Wine

Hazel End Farm

Keith Cox Wines

Leventhorpe Vineyard

New Hall Wines

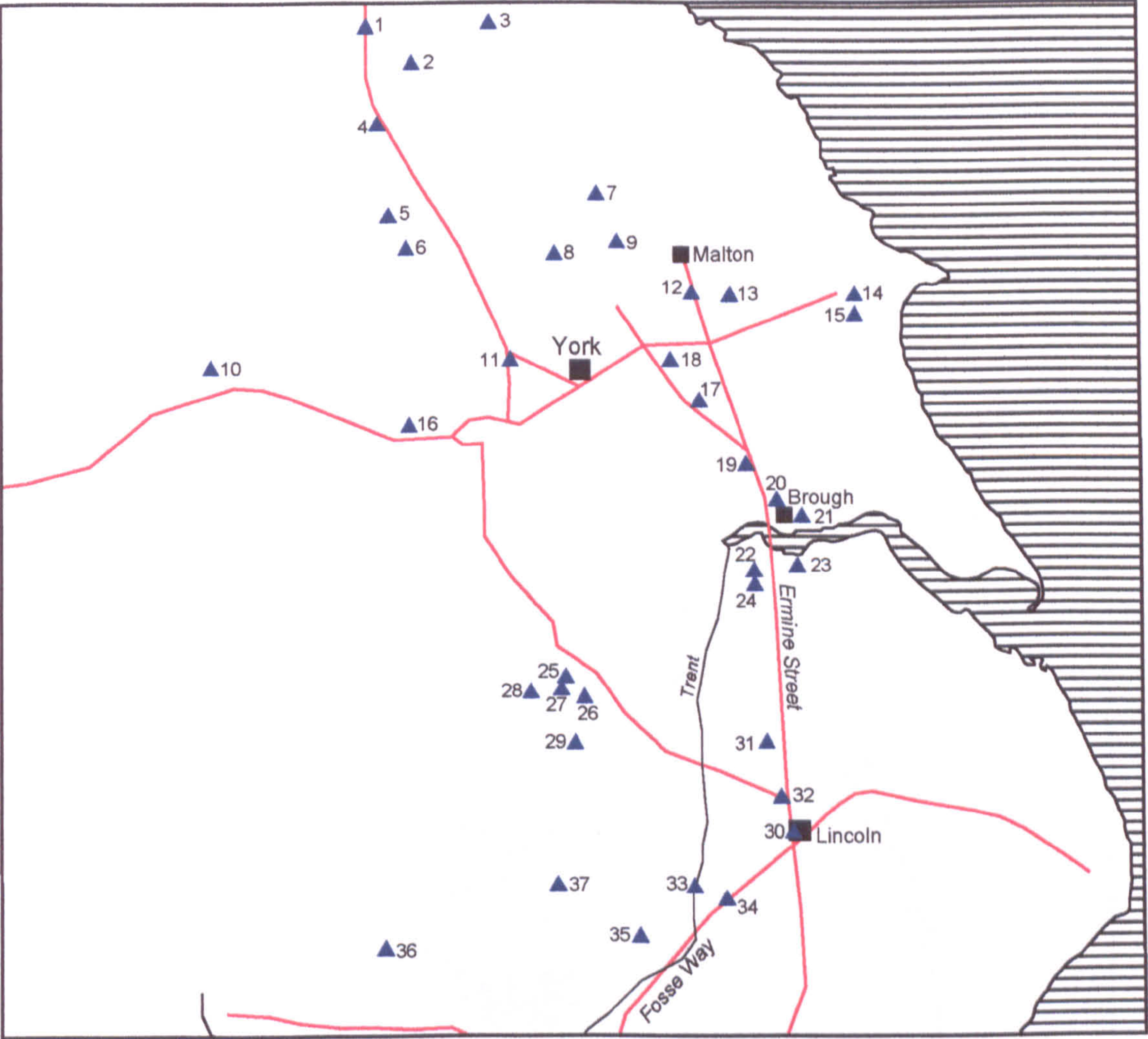
New Wave Wines

Plumpton College

RidgeView Estate

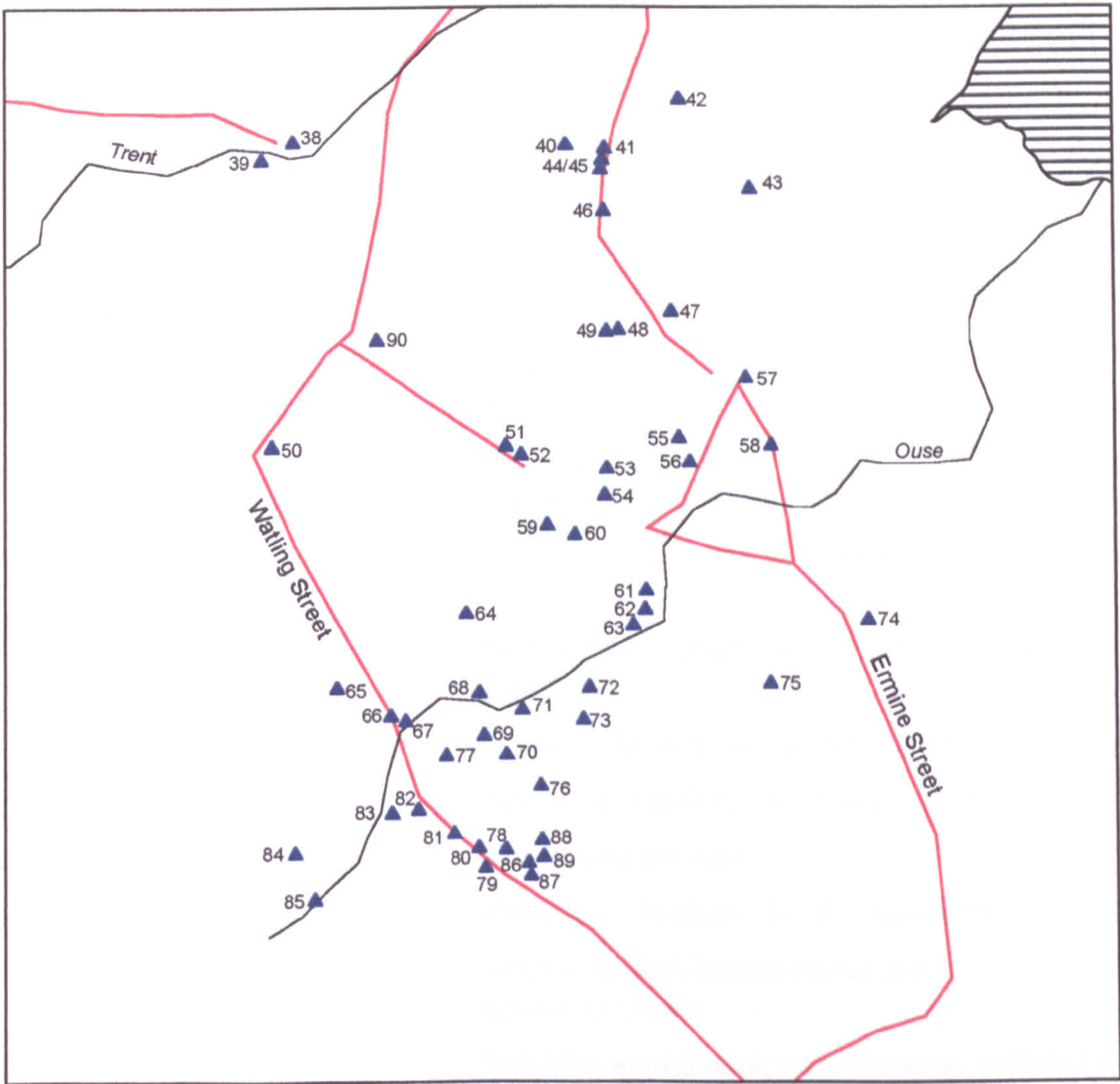
Stratascan Ltd.

Wickham Vineyard



1	Piercebridge	10	Gargrave	19	Newbald	28	Clifton
2	Dalton-on-Tees	11	Wilstrop Hall	20	Brantingham	29	Oldcoates
3	Ingleby Barwick	12	Langton	21	Welton Wold	30	Greetwell
4	Catterick	13	Wharram	22	Winterton	31	Glentworth
5	Well	14	Rudston	23	Horkstow	32	Scampton
6	Castle Dykes	15	Harpham	24	Roxby	33	Cromwell
7	Beadlam	16	Dalton Parlours	25	Loversall	34	Norton Disney
8	Oulston	17	Hayton	26	Stancil	35	Southwell
9	Hovingham	18	Cocoa Beck	27	Wadworth	36	Carsington
						37	Mansfield Woodhouse

Becoming consumers: The location of selected villas and other rural sites displaying architectural consumption in a study area within the east of England



38	Barton-in-Fabis	51	Medbourne	64	Brixworth	77	Gayton
39	Lockington	52	Drayton II	65	Borough Hill	78	Cosgrove
40	Denton	53	Great Weldon	66	Nether Heyford I	79	Deanshanger
41	Great Ponton	54	Stanion	67	Nether Heyford II	80	Potterspury
42	Haceby	55	Apethorpe	68	Harpole I	81	Whittlebury
43	West Deeping	56	Cotterstock	69	Wootton Fields	82	Towcester
44	Stoke Rochford	57	Upton	70	Piddington	83	Mileoak
45	North Stoke	58	Haddon	71	Harpole II	84	Thenford
46	Stainby	59	Rushton	72	Wollaston	85	Croughton
47	Great Casterton	60	Weekley	73	Easton Maudit	86	Wymbush
48	Empingham	61	Ringstead	74	Godmanchester	87	Bancroft
49	Whitwell	62	Stanwick	75	Great Staughton	88	Stanton Low
50	Sapcote	63	Redlands Farm	76	Ravenstone	89	Stantonbury
						90	Norfolk St. (Leicester)

Becoming consumers: The location of selected villas and other rural sites displaying architectural consumption in a study area within the east of England

APPENDIX 2: Becoming consumers: A Gazetteer of villas and other rural sites displaying architectural consumption in a study area in the east of England

A brief geographical, descriptive and chronological summary is given in note form for each site. An assessment is also made of the quality of the excavation and/or report ('Consumption perspective'). In addition, key words are used for each of the apparent consumer behaviour insights ('Consumption insight(s)') and are cross-referenced as follows:

<u>Key words</u>	<u>Section</u>
Costing case-study:	'Costing' consumption on Roman villas. Towards a quantifiable 'model'
Status issues/reference groups:	Consumer behaviour and social comparison
Rare pigment(s):	Wall-plaster pigments as a guide to consumer psychology
Displaced meaning:	House styles as a 'bridge' to a 'golden past'?
Villa longevity:	Ancestral meanings and Roman villas
Viewability:	Consuming the view
Fashion change:	Consumer 'fashions' in villa decoration
Bath-house status:	What villa bath-houses reveal about consumer choice
Imitation marbling:	Imitation marbling on wall-plaster as evidence of social differentiation
Enclosure as status:	Enhancing status through enclosure
Mosaic meanings:	Mosaics and the psychology of personal reinvention
Road values:	Communicating consumption values

Notes:

- * *Where consumption insights are observed only infrequently a specific cross-reference will be made to a particular argument.*
- ** *To reduce the level of detail that is included mosaics are referred to only in cases where a particular point is being made and attention is drawn to the new corpus from Neal and Cosh (2002).*

Apethorpe, Northamptonshire (TL0294)

(Main references: Trollope 1859-60; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location on a low lying site 10km from *Durobrivae* and Ermine Street. Courtyard villa (110m x 85m). Bath-house incorporated within the later front enclosure and close to the entrance.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insight. Bath-house status.

Bancroft, Buckinghamshire (SP827403)

(Main reference: Zeepvat 1994)

Location on elevated ground within 2km of Watling Street from which an associated and higher temple-mausoleum was visible. Large-scale villa excavation (14,000 sq.m.). Continuity from the late Iron Age at nearby site (300m). Series of ditched enclosures precede late-first to late-second century stone aisled villa (approx. 29m x 12.5m), agricultural buildings, 'unique' sauna, artificial lake, bath-suite plus temple-mausoleum. Fire followed by possible third century hiatus but temple-mausoleum retained. Second villa constructed within late-third to mid-fourth centuries (temple-mausoleum in disrepair): in winged corridor style (30m x 11m plus wings) with bath-suite and hypocaust. Mid-fourth century upgrading featuring: the re-modelling of one bath-suite; the addition of another; an exceptional repertoire of six or more mosaics; walled formal garden and fishpond; and addition of corridor and porch. Several stone-footed round buildings, including a shrine that replaced the temple-mausoleum.

Consumption perspective. Thorough excavation. Modern report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Bath-suite status. Imitation marbling. Road values. Case-study in lifestyle (VALS) analysis (6.4).

Barton-in-Fabis, Nottinghamshire (SK526316)

(Main references: Thompson 1951; Jennifer Laing pers.comm.)

Location overlooking the River Trent (1.5km). Antiquarian and later excavations suggest winged corridor villa. Two mosaics. Built on heavy (non-agricultural) clays that had not been ploughed points to status display (viewability) as a factor in site selection.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete evidence. Interim reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability.

Beadlam, North Yorkshire (SE 633842)

(Main reference: Neal 1996a)

Located on slightly elevated land near the River Riccal. Three fourth century ranges around a 'courtyard'. Two were winged corridor houses; the one to the north (Building 1) was approx. 37m x 13m with a mosaic and hypocaust; the other, to the west (approx. 23m x 12m) featured an integral bath-suite and a probable mosaic (Building 2). Buildings 4-7 had uncertain uses and complex phasing. Evidence for undated pre-villa phases including probable circular structure and ditched enclosure (possibly second century), and masonry buildings pre-dating the villa. Survived late.

Consumption perspective. No excavation beneath main buildings. Modern report.

Consumption insights. Rare pigment. Bath-house status. Glass bangle as 'extended self'.

Borough Hill, Northamptonshire (SP580960)

(Main reference: Botfield 1853)

Location with commanding views (ibid. 392-3) approx. 3km from Watling Street and *Bannaventa*. Sited within prehistoric earthworks. Villa block (45m x 22m) with possible late-first century bath-suite, but probable fourth century mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values. Ancestral site as 'extended self'.

Brantingham, East Yorkshire (SE932287)

(Main references: Slack 1948-51; Liversidge et al. 1973; Dent 1989)

Hilltop location with views across the Brough to York road (200m), River Humber and Vale of York. Approx. 1.5km from Brough. Site continuity from the Iron Age – nearby ditched enclosures overlain by a sequence of increasingly complex stone structures. Partial excavation of a range of rooms (possible courtyard villa) with hypocaust. Interest lies in evidence from room decoration.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Status issues/reference groups (consumption constellation).

Viewability. Road values.

Brixworth, Northamptonshire (SP747719)

(Key reference: Woods 1970)

Location 'on high ground' (ibid. 3). Small (18.7x 6.7m), five-room, late-first century 'cottage' villa with decorated walls and wooden verandah which overlies an earlier post-conquest circular building. Reconstruction in the mid- to late-second century (including wall-plaster), followed by an apparent third century hiatus. Late-third/early-fourth century expansion, including a masonry corridor and a seven-room bath-house which was perhaps never used.

Consumption perspective. Thorough excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Non-use of bath-suite as 'consumer regret'.

Carsington, Derbyshire (SK 249516)

(Main references: Ling and Courtney 1981; Ling et al. 1990)

Location close to Buxton-Littlechester Roman road and possible lead-mining centre of *Lutudanum*. Such isolation for a villa is considered exceptional, as also is the presence of amenities in an upland area. Site occupied from the mid-second century. Small fourth century cottage-type villa (approx. 24m x 9m) with a central room, hypocaust, window glass, tiles, plus a simple bath-suite within a single wing. No wall-plaster. Possible earlier buildings. Collapsed gable wall (Notes. *Britannia* 1992: 233-6).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Thorough report.

Consumption insights. Road values. Does isolation mean a reduced level of social group pressure? Hypocaust for comfort not status?

Castle Dykes, North Yorkshire (SE 2975)

(Main reference: Lukis 1875)

Location 7km from Dere Street on a low-lying site. Originally considered 'fortified' because it lay within a U-shaped fosse and double vallum. Apparent evidence for three bathing facilities makes the site unusual. At least two mosaics, possibly from the second century.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insights. Fashion change. Bath-house status. Enclosure as status.

Catterick, North Yorkshire (SE 244972)

(Main reference: Wilson 2002)

Location close to Dere Street and *Cataractonium*. Probable villa at RAF Catterick. *Cataractonium* a possible focal point for line of villas in the Vale of Mowbray (ibid. 528).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Cocoa Beck, East Yorkshire (SE 817480)

(Main reference: Peter Halkon pers.comm.)

Location on low-lying site within 2km of Brough to York road. Aerial photography, field-walking and a geophysical survey have revealed evidence of a winged corridor building with bath-house, tessellation, and an associated rectilinear enclosure.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete evidence.

Consumption insight. Road values.

Cosgrove, Northamptonshire (SP 795421)

(Main reference: Quinnell 1991)

Location 1.5km from Watling Street on a slight hill and 800m from the confluence of two rivers and facing the Great Ouse. Site continuity from the late Iron Age. Principal domestic building with integral bath-suite and contemporary wooden shrine (rare on a villa site) from the mid-second century. Bath demolished after 40 years. Stone temple replaced the timber shrine during the late-second century. Possible that a later main house was unlocated. Enclosure wall coincided with the villa and was subsequently made more substantial. Possible mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Bath-house status. Imitation marbling. Enclosure as status. Road values. Consuming with higher motives.

Cotterstock, Northamptonshire (TL 032910)

(Main references: Stephen Upex [pers.comm.]; Upex 2001)

Location on a man-made terrace overlooking the River Nene on a site chosen 'with great regard to both the view .. and to look impressive from a distance' (Stephen Upex pers.comm.). Antiquarian excavation and reports (including illustrations of mosaics) supported by recent aerial photography, fieldwalking and geophysical survey. Villa

evolution postulated from interpretive plans. Buildings and courtyards exceeded 250m x 70m.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Superficial research. No modern report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Road values.

Cromwell, Nottinghamshire (SK802625)

(Main references: Nottinghamshire SMR – 04282; Whimster 1989)

Location on a raised gravel terrace overlooking the River Trent. Crop and soil marks suggest a winged corridor within a double-ditched enclosure (180m x 110m).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete evidence.

Consumption insight. Viewability. Enclosure as status.

Croughton, Northamptonshire (SP550355)

(Main references: Blore 1996; Neal and Cosh 2002; Lancaster 2003)

Location on level ground at the head of a valley. Excavation plus surface evaluation points to site continuity from the Iron Age. Four villa rooms recorded, one with a large Bellerophon mosaic (5.15m x 5m) and one with a hypocaust and finer mosaic. Plan uncertain, but broad dating to late-third and fourth centuries. Most of the tegula roof tiles had been painted with a maroon wash/slip, possibly a decorative effect (as at Piddington and Wootton villas), with some in a hard white fabric, perhaps for a similar purpose.

Consumption perspective. Superficial and incomplete excavation. Assessment report only.

Consumption insights. Status ambiguity of Bellerophon mosaic along with those at Thenford and Whittlebury. Intended decorative effect of roof tiles.

Dalton-on-Tees, North Yorkshire (NZ 300 082)

(Main references: Brown 1999; Stobbs 2001)

Location on a scarp summit that provides panoramic views and is close to a putative Roman road (Margary 80a). Two main villa buildings (both approx. 30m x 17m) within a 6.5 acre ditch-enclosed site. One a winged corridor (on the highest position of the site), the other aisled (with wings) and considered the 'principal building' (ibid. 23). Mid-second to late-fourth centuries.

Consumption perspective. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Dalton Parlours, West Yorkshire (SE402445)

(Main reference: Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990)

Location on high ground with views towards the Vale of York and 1.5km from the Tadcaster to Ilkley Roman road. Original antiquarian excavation. Nearby Iron Age settlement suggests site continuity (not definite). Early-third century winged corridor building (J), with hypocaust and separately an apsidal room with two fourth century mosaics, one featuring Medusa. Contemporary aisled building (M) with bath-suite and possible mosaic in a partitioned corridor. One, possibly two, external bath-houses, and other agricultural buildings.

Consumption perspective. Modern excavation and report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Fashion change. Bath-suite as status. Road values.

Deanshanger, Northamptonshire (SP770396)

(Main reference: Monk 1982)

Location 1.5km from point where Watling Street crosses the River Ouse. Adjacent to late Iron Age site. Corridor villa (approx. 46m x 15m) incorporated within one side of a walled enclosure, forming a 'courtyard' (approx. 76m x 61m). Close to possible temple site.

Consumption perspective. Poorly executed gridded excavation. Some finds lost/damaged. Uncertain chronology. Partial summary.

Consumption insights. Enclosure as status. Road values.

Denton, Lincolnshire (SK875309)

(Main references: Smith 1964; Greenfield 1971)

Location 7km from Ermine Street on high ground near a point where the land falls sharply. Antiquarian excavation followed by re-excavation in 1948/9. Three phases comprised a late-third century aisled timber building; reconstructed in the late-fourth century at the west end with stone foundations and partitioned rooms (three with mosaics), together with the building of an external bath-house; and the completion of the east end with stone footings and internal rooms. Two-phase bath-house (cold bath added) with columned entrance and mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Excavation limited to buildings. Dated reports.

Consumption insights. Displaced meaning. Viewability. Bath-house status. Road values.

Doncaster, South Yorkshire

(Main reference: Peter Robinson pers.comm.)

Information from the Keeper of Archaeology, Doncaster Museum.

Clifton (SK514966); Hampole (SE498113); Loversall (SK575987); Stancil (SK607960 [Whiting 1943]); and Wadworth (SK567972).

Consumption perspective. Only Stancil reported. Rest are SMR Records.

Consumption insights. Viewability and inter-visibility case-study. Road values.

Drayton II, Leicestershire (SP817918)

(Main references: Connor 1993; Whatley 1998)

Terraced 'highly visible and impressive' location on high ground overlooking the Gartree Road (Cooper et al. 1989: 14). Continuity from the late Iron Age/early Roman period. Three aisled hall phases from the mid-second century to mid/late fourth century. Bath-suites (in different locations) throughout. Eight hypocausts (at varying times).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete analysis. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Bath-suite status. Mosaic meanings. Road values. Hypocausts as status.

Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire (SP895582)

(Main references: Woodfield and Woodfield 1994; Charmian Woodfield pers.comm.)

Location on a plateau with 10km views across the Nene Valley. Unclear chronology, but possible continuity from the Iron Age. Unusual winged corridor villa: mid-second century rectangular block with a 50m-long front corridor (with apsed ends) that extends the building to terminate at round (possibly two-storey) stone towers. Cellar. Villa has no precise parallel. Possible third century hiatus. Two mosaics point to fourth century re-use.

Consumption perspective. Questionable standard of excavation that was confined to the main building. Superficial report.

Consumption insight. Displaced meaning. Viewability

Empingham, Rutland (SK943077 and SK942081)

(Main references: Cooper 2000; Nicholas Cooper pers.comm.)

Location 5km from Great Casterton and Ermine Street. Two sites, 425m apart, in the Gwash valley. SITE 1: mid-first to mid-second century occupation (ditches and possible timber buildings) replaced by a third century part-residential, part-agricultural aisled 'farmstead', later partitioned. Cinnabar pigment. SITE 2: Residential aisled 'villa' (late-third or mid-fourth centuries) with central nave, partitioned room, a hypocaust and possible bath-suite. Egyptian blue pigment. No tesserae.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Full report.

Consumption insights. Rare pigments. Fashion change. Road values.

Gargrave, North Yorkshire (SD939535)

(Main references: Hartley 1978; Brian Hartley pers.comm.)

Location on flat farmland with no nearby villas for social comparison (but widespread pasture makes aerial photography inconclusive). Rectangular stone structures within a contemporary six-acre double-ditched enclosure from the late-second century comprised initially a winged corridor house with hypocaust, mosaic and detached bath-house. Also two subsidiary early-third century cottage houses, both 23m x 8.5m (approx.) and each aggrandized early in the fourth century (one with a hypocaust and mosaic, the other with a mosaic) at the time the original house was demolished. Rectangular farm 'office' between the two with coarse pavement. Bath-house used throughout and upgraded.

Consumption perspective. Full excavation. Interim reports.

Consumption insights. Bath-house status. Imitation marbling. Enclosure as status.

Gayton, Northamptonshire (SP714539)

(Main reference: Butler 1844)

Location 'commanding a fine view across a valley' (ibid. 127). Fragmentary evidence for a 20m-long corridor with column bases and other walls.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian evidence.

Consumption insight. Viewability

Glentworth, Lincolnshire (SK035876)

(Main reference: Everson 1980)

Location 1.5km from Ermine Street. One of a line of villas north of Lincoln sited either at the top or below (in this case) the limestone scarp. Antiquarian report of bath-house.

Consumption perspective. Partial antiquarian excavation.

Consumption insights. Road values.

Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire (TL258712)

(Main references: Frend 1968; Green 1978; McAvoy 1999)

Low-lying site in the Ouse valley. Location 1.5km from Roman Godmanchester and Ermine Street. Aisled 'villa' plus other aisled buildings, a lesser one of which featured imitation marbling wall-plaster and window glass. Separate bath-house. Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim reports.

Consumption insights. Road values. Imitation marbling.

Great Casterton, Rutland (TF010100)

(Main references: Corder 1951-1961)

Location 800m from the Roman town of Great Casterton which lies on Ermine Street. Labelled a large aisled barn (approx. 33m x 15m) the first house (late-third/early-fourth century) was replaced on the same site in the mid-fourth century by a smaller house with a mosaic and corridor, itself subsequently (c370-80) enlarged and improved (hypocaust; new mosaic). A mid-fourth century separate south wing was re-modelled (also c370-80) with a corridor pavement and integral bath-suite. Consumption perspective. Principal house possibly not found. Excavation and report to 1950s standard.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Bath-suite status. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Great Staughton, Cambridgeshire (TL134630)

(Main reference: Greenfield et al. 1994)

Location in a valley close to a putative stretch of Roman road from Dorchester-on-Thames to Ermine Street. Occupation from the late Iron Age. Two small winged corridor buildings, 45m apart, dated to the fourth century, but with Site 2 possibly converted from a bath-house belonging to a larger and earlier, but unexcavated structure.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation of Site 2. Detailed report.

Consumption insights. Rare pigments. Fashion change. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Great Weldon, Northamptonshire (SP929900)

(Main references: Smith et al. 1988-9)

Location on a level site 3.5km from the Gartree Road. Antiquarian and subsequent re-excavations. Site occupation from the mid-first century with first house (Flavian?) a part-masonry, part-timber block (approx 25m x 8m), with roof tiles, plaster, verandah and possible mosaic. Late-second century destruction followed immediately by the

construction of a larger villa on the same alignment, featuring a wing, hypocaust, stone-footed corridor and projecting bath-suite. Fourth century changes included the addition of an apse to the central room, enlarging the bath-suite (plus further re-modelling) developing the north wing, enclosing a walled forecourt, and laying at least three mosaics. Second century stone circular building with plaster floor.
Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report
Consumption insights. Displaced meaning. Bath-suite status. Imitation marbling. Enclosure as status. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Greetwell, Lincolnshire (SK990710)

(Main references: Ramsden 1891; Venables 1891)

Hill-top location visible from Lincoln (2.5km) and overlooking the River Witham. Incomplete antiquarian excavation but sufficient revealed to show that at nearly 750 sq.m. (despite most of the domestic space being lost) the area under mosaics was greater (Neal and Cosh 2002: 13) than in any other villa in Britain (only Fishbourne Palace in Sussex had more).

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Bath-house status. Road values.

Haceby, Lincolnshire (TF019369)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location between Ermine Street (approx. 5km) and King Street, 'commanding a remarkable view towards the coast' (ibid. 144). Partial exposure of main building and also a bath-house.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian and later excavations. Superficial reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Haddon, Cambridgeshire (TL137933)

(Main reference: Stephen Upex pers.comm.)

Location 4km from *Durobrivae* and visible from Ermine Street (800m). Small timber aisled building (approx. 13m x 8m) with a tessellated floor. Later construction of a nearby two-room stone bath-house (approx. 5.25m x 3m) with vaulted roof, plaster, glass and tiles.

Consumption perspective. Severe plough damage. Awaiting report.

Consumption insight. Bath-house status.

Harpham, East Yorkshire (TA 090636)

(Main references: Collier 1906; Humberside SMR –956)

Location 3km from Rudston villa. Reverse E-shaped villa possibly with fourth century mosaics in every room.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian and later excavations. Superficial reports.

Consumption insights. Fashion change. Trait theory interpretation of the labyrinth mosaic.

Harpole (1) and (2), Northamptonshire. (SP690620 and SP684599)

(Main references: Harpole 1 [Stephen Young pers.comm.]; Harpole 2 [RCHM 1982; Neal and Cosh 2002])

Both probably courtyard-style villas, but little else known about their configuration or structure.

Consumption perspective. Surface finds only for (1); antiquarian excavation of mosaic for (2).

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values. Case-study of inter-visibility.

Hayton, East Yorkshire (SE825465)

(Main reference: Halkon et al. 2000)

Location within 1km of the roadside settlement at Hayton and the Brough to York road. Continuing landscape archaeology programme. An Iron Age ladder settlement featured roundhouses that were succeeded by a substantial rectangular timber structure. A small, four-room, stone-built bath-house with glass and plaster was constructed at one corner of this in the third century and later incorporated (and re-modelled) within a larger stone building.

Consumption perspective. Excavation incomplete. Interim reports.

Consumption insights. Bath-house status. Road values.

Horkstow, Lincolnshire (SE985191)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location overlooking the River Humber (antiquarian illustration of this reproduced on the front cover of *Lincolnshire History & Archaeology* 1996) and 4km from Ermine Street. Evidence mainly from mosaics, including Orpheus and Chariot scenes. Associations with pavements at other villas either side of the River Humber hint at social links.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values. Mosaic meanings.

Hovingham, North Yorkshire (SE 665758)

(Main references: Clark 1935; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location on low-lying land. Close to the Roman road from Malton (13km). Little known of the villa except a mosaic. The bath-house was unusually complex, featuring a circular hot plunge-bath(?), usually associated with a military or public context.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation and report.

Consumption insight. Bath-house status.

Ingleby Barwick, North Yorkshire (NZ437151)

(Main reference: Carne 2001)

Location on elevated land 350m from the River Tees and probably viewable from stretches of the river. Possible Iron Age site. Evidence for an enclosure with three stone-foundation buildings, including a winged structure. Currently under partial excavation. 'Hot room'.

Consumption perspective. Work in progress. No reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Bath-house status.

Langton, East Yorkshire (SE801670)

(Main reference: Corder and Kirk 1932)

Location approx. 6km from Malton. Near possible road converging on the Roman town. Site described as being 'very exposed' (ibid. 17). Originally labelled a 'Flavian fort' because of its enclosing rectangular ditches (approx. 3m across and 3m deep) but reinterpreted (Webster 1969: 248) as a mid-second to late-fourth century villa. Complex sequence of stone buildings included a pair aligned precisely within the enclosure, one with a hypocaust; the main 'dwelling house' which evolved from a basic oblong (which was destroyed) to one with two hypocausts; and ultimately a small (approx. 23m x 8m) fourth century corridor villa with a wing and three (possibly four) hypocausts. Also a bath-house and agricultural buildings. Whole site (approx. 200m x 75m) enclosed within ditches. Second villa (0.5km) not excavated.

Consumption perspective. Excavation/report to 1930's standards.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Enclosure as status. Hypocausts as status.

Norfolk Street, Leicester (SK575043)

(Main references: Mellor and Lucas 1978-9; Mellor 1981; 1982)

Hilltop location with view across Leicester (1km) and the River Soar. Possible second century origin. Courtyard layout incorporating a late-third century corridor building to the west with a polygonal apsed central room, a further corridor house to the north, and an aisled building to the south. Also a further north-east wing. At least 10 mosaics, but only two (albeit in public rooms) were of a high standard, the rest coarse. Major finds of wall-plaster.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete antiquarian and later excavations. Interim reports.

Consumption insights. Rare pigments. Viewability. Fashion change. Imitation marbling. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Lockington, Leicestershire (SK482294)

(Main reference: Clay 1984-5)

Location on a ridge of slightly higher ground above the River Trent flood plain, approx. 1.5km from the river. Cropmark evidence for Iron Age settlement (c.20 circular buildings) and adjacent single-winged villa. Surface finds of pottery and building material, including tesserae, point to occupation from the second to fourth centuries.

Consumption perspective. Superficial analysis and reports.

Consumption insight. Viewability.

Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire (SK560240)

(Main references: Rooke 1787; Oswald 1949)

Location with 'sweeping views' (Oswald 1949: 1), possibly close to contemporary 'village' (ibid. 2). Antiquarian excavation subsequently re-examined in the 1930s. Two structures at right angles; one a winged corridor villa (approx. 26m x 16m), the other a developed aisled building (approx. 43m x 14m). Site enclosed within a four-acre ditch (including 1.6m cut into limestone) and initially comprised rectangular and round wooden buildings from around AD80, followed by larger timber rectangular

structures cAD130 and the first stone structures in the late-second century. Subsequent early-third century development with a corridor, two wings, a hypocaust and a detached bath-house. Destruction followed by later third century reconstruction with a tessellated corridor and a central mosaic and the early-fourth century development of a much larger and partitioned aisled building with internal bath-suite and also wall-plaster at both ends and a hypocaust.

Consumption perspective. Variable excavation standards. Superficial reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Enclosure as status.

Medbourne, Leicestershire (SP798930)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location close to where the Gartree Road crosses the River Welland and 100m from a Roman small town. Close to Drayton II villa (3km). Antiquarian excavations of apsidal mosaic. Recent evidence for a villa corridor, rooms and possible bath-house (Liddle 1995: 87).

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Superficial reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Mileoak, Northamptonshire (SP650465)

(Main reference: Green and Draper 1978)

Location on a domed site within 2.5km of Watling Street, Towcester and the Alchester to Towcester road. Mid-first century roundhouse replaced (approx. AD65-75) by a rectangular stone building (approx. 40m x 16m) with front and back corridor, hypocaust, cellar and possible mosaic. Destroyed in the mid-second century. Maroon-plastered external walls.

Consumption perspective. Partial 1950s excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Imitation marbling. Road values. Early innovativeness of owners.

Nether Heyford (1) – Horstone Brook, Northamptonshire (SP666583)

(Main references: Morton 1712; Stephen Young pers.comm.)

Location 1.5km from Watling Street. Earlier structure was a mid-second century stone circular building with wall-plaster, later incorporated into a winged corridor villa. Mosaic (Neal and Cosh 2002: 248-9).

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation and later re-excavation. No report.

Consumption insight. Features in a case-study of inter-visibility.

Nether Heyford (2) – Whitehall Farm, Northamptonshire (SP649587)

(Main reference: Stephen Young pers.comm.)

Location 2km from Watling Street. Mid/late-second century construction with addition of wings, corridor and mosaics in fourth century. Separate bath-house from the mid/late-second century, later re-constructed.

Consumption perspective. On-going excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Bath-house status. Road values. Features in a case-study of inter-visibility.

Newbald, East Yorkshire (SE905356)

(Main references: Corder 1941; Humberside SMR –7524)

Location close to junction of Brough-York and Brough-Malton roads. Surface finds led to trial trenching and revealed stone walls, tesserae, polychrome plaster, tiles etc. Extent of buildings exceeds 50m in one direction, more in the other.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Superficial notes.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Fashion change. Road values.

North Stoke (SK930288) and **Stoke Rochford** (SK929290), **Lincolnshire**

(Main references: Turnor 1829; 1831)

Location as part of a line of four bath-houses/villas within 10km – along with **Great Ponton** (SK925306) and **Stainby** (SK926227). All similarly situated overlooking Ermine Street (approx. 1km in each case) and the River Witham.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation and reports.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Norton Disney, Lincolnshire (SK859603)

(Main reference: Oswald 1937)

Hilltop location, 200m from Fosse Way, with ‘commanding’ wide views that include Lincoln and *Crocolana* (2km). At least five periods of construction on the same site from cAD70 to the mid-fourth century. Phases comprise timber houses within ditched enclosures (labelled fortifications); an early-second century part-masonry, part-timber villa with further enclosure ditching; an early-third century single-winged corridor with aisled house at right angles and possible detached bath-house; reconstruction and additions to both houses; fourth century improvements including three mosaics, bath-suite positioned to link the two buildings, partitioning of aisled building; and outer enclosure ditches added.

Consumption perspective. Excavation/report to 1930s standard.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Bath-suite status. Enclosure as status. Road values. Case-study in reference group behaviour (6.3).

Oldcoates, Nottinghamshire (SK590880)

(Main references: Nicholl 1871; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Antiquarian excavation of a mosaic pavement. No record of villa features.

Consumption perspective. Brief antiquarian reference.

Consumption insight. Trait theory interpretation of the labyrinth mosaic.

Oulston, North Yorkshire (SE 560740)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Official confusion over siting, arising from antiquarian references. Likely location (visited in person) on the summit of a hill with views of 10km or more in all directions. Antiquarian excavation of six rooms and a corridor. Two fine mosaics, one with five panels (one figured); the other paving a dining room apse and covering an earlier mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Brief notes available in the correspondence of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

Consumption insights. Viewability(?). Fashion change. Mosaic meanings.

Piddington, Northamptonshire (SP796540)

(Main references: R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor 2002; Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.)

Location in a shallow valley approx. 10km both from Duston (and the road to *Bannaventa*) and Watling Street. Three other villas within 5km. Continuing excavation. Continuity from late Iron Age phase of enclosed round houses with high status *terra rubra/terra nigra* pottery and Gaulish fine wares; possible military period; timber 'proto villa' AD 70-100; two 'cottage-style' stone houses cAD100 (the north-south one of these evolving into a corridor villa (with apsed exedra)); and by the end of the second century (and featuring an early mosaic) linked to the south range by a private bath-suite, with an external bath-house also added. Rebuilding followed fire and a north wing created, forming a courtyard villa with the whole enclosed by a stone wall. Major late-third century refurbishment abandoned and 'squatter' occupation coincides with the villa dismantlement. Decoration is noteworthy. Consumer perspective. Thorough excavation (despite antiquarian disturbance). Interim reports. Consumer insights. 'Costing' case-study. Rare pigments. Fashion change. Enclosure as status. Road values. Window glass case-study (4.9.5). Case-study on individualistic values (6.1).

Piercebridge, North Yorkshire (NZ220150)

(Main references: Harding 1984; Andrew Fitzpatrick pers.comm.)

Location close to the River Tees and visible (1.5km) from Dere Street and Piercebridge Fort. Site continuity from the Iron Age (ditched enclosure with a sequence of wooden roundhouses). Successive villa phases comprised a late-first century three-room cottage-style house (18m x 7.5m) which coincided with the construction of a stone enclosure wall (broadly aligned with the pre-Roman sub-rectangular earthwork). Mid-second century development of the house featured two hypocausted wings, one an apsidal dining area, the other (at the rear) a well-decorated bath-suite (two mosaics). This coincided with the construction of a dominating (15m diameter) and centrally-located and partitioned stone roundhouse (overlying earlier timber houses). Late-second century dismantlement and closure (flooding?) and re-siting(?) plus evidence for possible nearby fourth century (corridor?) building.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Rare pigments. Displaced meaning. Viewability. Bath-house status. Enclosure as status. Road values.

Potterspury, Northamptonshire (SP761420)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Located 1.5km from Watling Street.

Consumption perspective. Only traces found. No report.

Consumption insight. Road values.

Ravenstone, Buckinghamshire (SP840500)

(Main reference: Green 1966)

Bath-house excavation with evidence of window glass and painted plaster. Main interest lies in the suggestive comment of Graham Webster 'surely nobody would choose to live up here' (it is an exposed location).

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insight. Viewability case-study (4.4.3).

Redlands Farm, Northamptonshire (SU959705)

(Main references: Biddulph et al. 2002; Edward Biddulph pers. comm.)

Location on a gravel terrace of the River Nene. Visible from Stanwick villa (1.5km) and 1km from a road (Graham Keevill pers.comm.). An early-second century two-room watermill converted in the late-second/early-third century to a symmetrical winged villa. It featured a rear corridor, hypocaust, two wings and a 'courtyard effect' created by a perimeter wall. Late-third to late-fourth century 're-decoration' with a central mosaic, tessellated pavement, corridor to the front and other improvements. Collapsed gable wall (6.5m). Also two stone roundhouses, one for domestic use.

Consumption perspective. Modern excavation. Advance copy of report seen.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Displaced meaning. Viewability. Fashion change. Road values. Case-study on personalisation (6.2).

Ringstead, Northamptonshire (SP977748)

(Main reference: Jackson 1980)

Valley location near the River Nene. Iron Age pits and ditches close by but not conclusive of continuity. Roman period circular timber building overlain both by a corridor villa (only partly excavated) and a circular stone building. The masonry roundhouse featured a mosaic and a porch, may have pre-dated the villa and was probably still used in the fourth century.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insight. Status issue of finding a mosaic in a circular building.

Roxby, Lincolnshire. (SE912159)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Escarpment site within 5km of River Humber and 3km of Ermine Street. Close to Horkstow (6km) and Winterton (1.5km) villas. Antiquarian excavation of two (fourth century?) mosaics. Possibly an aisled house.

Consumption perspective. Partial information.

Consumption insight. Viewability. Road values.

Rudston, East Yorkshire (TA 090665)

(Main reference: Stead 1980)

Location on high land near Roman road. First century(?) droveway settlement (ditches, roundhouses etc.) over which rectangular villa buildings were constructed in the late third/early fourth centuries to a different orientation, possibly around a square. Problem of missing second century development – elsewhere? Two domestic ranges

dated to different periods, their corresponding mosaics also stylistically different. Well was deep (30m) and wide (3m).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavations. Modern report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Fashion change. Imitation marbling. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Rushton, Northamptonshire (SP849831)

(Main references: Meadows 2001; Stuart Wright pers.comm.)

Location overlooking the Ise Valley and inter-visible with Newton villa (1.5km) and the small town of Kettering. Within 5km of both the Fosse Way and the Gartree Road. Detached bath-house probably 100m from a probable villa.

Consumption perspective. Site still under investigation. No report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values. Rare pigment (4.1.4).

Sapcote, Leicestershire (SP496931)

(Main references: Liddle 1982; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location on high ground along Fosse Way with wide views towards the River Soar. Little known apart from bath-house and mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. No report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values

Scampton, Lincolnshire (SK954785)

(Main references: Illingworth 1808; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Hilltop location with wide views across the Trent Valley, around 2.5km from Ermine Street. Possibly a large courtyard villa – at least 40 rooms.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Southwell, Nottinghamshire (SK703537)

(Main reference: Daniels 1966)

Location approx. 8km from Fosse Way. Excavation in 1959 revealed parts of the possible east and south wings of what may have been a large courtyard villa. Site occupation from the mid-second to the late-fourth centuries? Exceptionally large cold bath (approx. 7.5 x 5m).

Consumption perspective. Incomplete excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Mosaic meanings. Road values.

Stanion, Northamptonshire. (SP925867)

(Main reference: Martin Tingle pers.comm.)

Location looking across a shallow valley. Aerial photography suggests probable Roman road on alignment passing close to the villa. Evidence of villa wing with plain tessellation. Site occupied from late-first to early-third centuries.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Stanton Low, Buckinghamshire (SP842430)

(Main reference: Woodfield with Johnson 1989)

Location viewable from the navigable Great Ouse River and within 8km of Watling Street. Evidence for middle and late Iron Age occupation of the site before early Roman timber wharf and bridge and late-first/early-second century stone barns. Successive phases of aggrandizement through the second century saw the development of up to six stone buildings, most of them 'improved' and possibly comprising an 'extended' villa or perhaps a villa with an official purpose related to river transportation. Subsequent decline before late-third/early-fourth century restoration.

Consumption perspective. Excavation incomplete. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Rare pigments. Viewability. Bath-house status.

Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire (SP844412)

(Main reference: Zeepvat 1987a)

Location 4km from Watling Street. Partial excavation revealed a second century (probably domestic) stone roundhouse sited 25m from a later (but also second century) rectangular (16m x 11.5m) building (interpreted as a two-storey tower granary) with an attached two-room 'utility' bath-suite, a fourth century addition. Wall-plaster and roof tile. Two other stone circular buildings.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insight. Bath-house status. Road values.

Stanwick, Northamptonshire (SP975725)

(Main references: Neal 1989; Neal and Cosh 2002; Vicky Crosby pers.comm.)

Location close to River Nene, 8km from Irchester and 250m from what may be the Irchester to *Durobrivae* road. A 30-hectare study within the Raunds Area landscape archaeology project. Mid to late Iron Age group of roundhouses. Circular and rectangular stone buildings from the late-first/early-second centuries. Considered a village of individual farmsteads from the mid-second (many ditched, walled or palisaded). Villa began in one such ditched compound, with a large aisled hall (apsed at one end) by the third century, subsequently developed with small rooms, hypocausts and a bath-suite in the early fourth. Hall incorporated into a winged corridor villa cAD375 with new hypocaust, bath-suite, painted plaster and five mosaics. Funerary sculpture recycled in the hypocaust. Possible upper storey.

Consumption perspective. Comprehensive excavation. Report awaited.

Consumption insights. Road values. Values case-study (4.2.1).

Thenford, Northamptonshire (SP525415)

(Main reference: Neal and Cosh 2002)

Corridor villa with attached bath-suite. Site continuity from the late Iron Age (*Britannia* 1972: 325). Main interest lies in the poorly executed figurative mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian and later excavation. No report.

Consumption insight. Status ambiguity of mosaic, along with those at Croughton and Whittlebury.

Thistleton Dyer, Rutland (SK909170)

(Main references: Neal, forthcoming; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location 5km from a fork of Ermine Street and Fosse Way and on the route of the putative Great Casterton to *Margidunum* road.

Iron Age timber roundhouse overlain by third century rectangular (aisled?) stone building. Main villa dated to the fourth century, comprising a front and rear corridor building (23m x 15m) with six rooms, wings, a hypocaust and five mosaics, together with a contemporary aisled structure, architecturally grand, but undeveloped. Detached bath-house. The two sets of buildings linked by an enclosing wall. Best mosaic in private, not public, area. Architectural stonework – column capital and column drums – found close to the original stone building. A nearby temple complex (Liddle 1982) began with a pre-conquest(?) round timber shrine replaced in the late- second(?) by a circular stone building with mosaic and later an aisled temple (20m x 14m), within a *temenos*.

Consumption perspective. Rescue excavation. Report awaited (advance copy seen).

Consumption insights. Mosaic meanings. Temple with window glass.

Towcester (Wood Burcote), Northamptonshire (SP685469)

(Main reference: Turland 1977)

Probable watermill complex, post-conquest in date, comprising several rectangular buildings, one of which (D) featured a tessellated floor, and verandah.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insight. Example of ambiguities associated with defining a villa.

Upton, Cambridgeshire (TF 105015)

(Main references: Paul Middleton pers.comm.; Middleton 2003)

Location on high ground with commanding views of the Nene Valley and within 200m of King Street. Probably visible from *Durobrivae* and also Sacrewell villa. Situated on heavy clay soils unsuited to agriculture.

Resistivity survey revealed evidence of a winged corridor villa within a walled compound. Field-walked pottery scatters dating from the third/fourth centuries are suggestive of additional ranges centred on a courtyard. Tessellation.

Consumption perspective. Pre-excavation survey. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values.

Weekley, Northamptonshire (SP886818)

(Main reference: Jackson and Dix 1986-7)

Location on a spur with 'extensive views' (ibid. 71). Linear sequence of ditched enclosures (interpreted as 'defensive') reveals continuous settlement from the late Iron Age (post-holes, gullies, pits etc.). Increasingly Romanised pottery from the mid-first century and evidence of kiln activity. Villa attested only by foundation walls but its enclosure (C) was 110m x 65m, and up to 3.8m deep (and cut into limestone) with an 'elaborate gateway' (ibid. 53-4).

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Enclosure as status.

Well, Yorkshire (SE260810)

(Main reference: Gilyard-Beer 1951)

Location 5km from Dere Street with 'a remarkable view of the Vale of Mowbray' (ibid. 9). Successive excavations have revealed parts of several buildings that included: three rooms and a corridor of a villa(?) with mosaics and plaster; a large bath-house; and a separate 12m x 4.5m cold plunge-bath or open-air pool constructed to a high standard. Four mosaics including rare second century example. Conjectural evidence for water-cult.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete plan and report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Fashion change. Mosaic meanings.

Welton Wold, East Yorkshire (SE974279)

(Main references: Mackey 1998; Rodney Mackey pers.comm.)

Location 2km from Brough. Visible from military road, the Humber shore and from Lincolnshire. Large-scale (17 acre) rescue excavation of a droveway settlement revealed phasing from the pre-Roman first century (ditched enclosure and possible roundhouse) to the early-fifth century. An enclosed late-first/early-second stone-built symmetrical corridor villa was never aggrandised, surviving unchanged for 300 years.

Consumption perspective. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability.

West Deeping, Lincolnshire (TF511310)

(Main reference: Jonathan Hunn pers.comm.)

Location 1km from King Street and visible from the nearest villa (at Stowe Farm). An element in the Rectory Farm project, part of a wider landscape archaeology programme in the Lower Welland Valley, the site reveals continuing settlement from the Iron Age (circular buildings, ditches, gullies). A Roman period double-ditched rectilinear enclosure (later subdivided) was succeeded by a late-third/early-fourth masonry aisled building (a proto villa?), and detached five-room bath-house. A fourth century villa (parallel to King Street) comprised two parallel 33m x 12m (approx.) buildings, joined by a 35m wall. That to the north was aisled, whilst the 'main' one to the south incorporated a possible tower, a probable coarse mosaic, and also a vaulted, voussoired and plaster-coffered ceiling in a hypocausted room. Likelihood of enclosure.

Consumption perspective. Only one season's excavation. Awaiting report (advance copy seen).

Consumption insights. Viewability. Road values. Status issues.

Wharram, North Yorkshire (SE867667 and SE 858645)

(Main reference: Rahtz et al. 1986)

Location of Wharram le Street villa close to putative Roman road; Wharram Grange villa occupies hilltop position. Both revealed using surface techniques and small-scale trenching (domestic use cannot be confirmed). Surface finds of building stone, tile, tesserae, painted plaster etc.

Consumption perspective. Incomplete interpretation.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Viewability. Road values.

Whittlebury, Northamptonshire (SP730440)

(Main references: *Victoria County History* 1902; Neal and Cosh 2002)

Location within 0.5km of Watling Street. Parts of two villa buildings, one attached to a trapezoidal walled yard (60m x 45m approx.). Main interest lies in the apparently 'coarse workmanship' for a figurative mosaic.

Consumption perspective. Antiquarian excavation. No report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Enclosure as status. Road values. Status ambiguity of mosaic, along with those at Croughton and Thenford.

Whitwell, Leicestershire (SK928075)

(Main reference: Todd 1981)

Location?

Likelihood of Iron Age settlement close by but Roman period activity begins from the mid- to late- first century (enclosures, ditches, iron-smelting activity and very high quality pottery, including decorated samian, imitation Gallo-Belgic ceramics and imported flagons). Late-second/early-third timber aisled building which was replaced on the same alignment in the late-third century by a rectangular building (approx. 24m x 7m) with stone foundations. Fragments of tile, a few plain tesserae. No reference to wall-plaster.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation of larger site(?). Interim report.

Consumption insight. Status issues - contrast between first century consumer behaviour (exceptional finds of pottery) and the subsequent simplicity of villa.

Wilstrop Hall, North Yorkshire (SE479550)

(Main reference: Lawton 2002-3)

Location on high ground with a 'commanding view' overlooking the River Nidd and within 0.5km of the York to Aldborough road. Small scale excavation and subsequent field-walking/geophysical surveys. Bath-house with wall-plaster, plain tesserae and tiles.

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Superficial report.

Consumption insight. Viewability. Road values.

Winterton, Lincolnshire (SE910181)

(Main reference: Stead 1976)

Location beneath a limestone scarp 1km from Ermine Street and 5km south of the River Humber. Roxby and Horkstow villas nearby. Site continuity from the late Iron Age attested in subsequent work (Goodburn 1978). Two domestic stone-footed round-houses (E; J) from the early-second century, a third (H) cAD180. Late-second century development comprised a winged-corridor villa (G) with (two, possibly four) mosaics, detached bath-house, an aisled house (D) with bath-suite possibly aligned with E and H); followed by a simpler early-third century aisled house (B). Fourth century rebuilding of G (including central *triclinium*) and upgrading of D with four mosaics (three figured; one an Orpheus). Curiosities: no hypocausts in rooms with mosaics; six cold plunge baths excavated but not one hot bath.

Consumption perspective. Coupled with Goodburn's later work an exemplary (and thorough) excavation and report – despite antiquarian activity.

Consumption insights. Costing case-study. Fashion change. Imitation marbling. Road values. Reference to possible owner traits (3.7.2)

Wollaston, Northamptonshire (SP903625)

(Main reference: Chapman and Jackson 1992)

Location described as 'the highest point', and on a 'west-facing spur' above the Nene Valley. Partial excavation of a bath-house. Large ditched enclosure. Mid-second to fourth centuries?

Consumption perspective. Sketchy information.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Imitation marbling. Enclosure as status.

Wootton Fields, Northamptonshire (SP766563)

(Main references: Chapman 2000; Chapman 2002)

Location on a ridge 'with extensive views to the east' (Chapman 2000: 3) and close to Romano-British sites at Quinton (3km) and Piddington (5km). Simple strip villa (29m x 9m) with corridors front and back, hypocaust and wall-plaster, on a site probably occupied from the late Iron Age. A slightly trapezoidal enclosure ditch, (approx. 70m square), together with a boundary wall in parts (Chapman 2002: Section 4.3) formed the villa precinct. Bath-house but no tesserae (Chapman 2000: 11). Several roof tiles coated with a maroon or black wash/paint, possibly for a decorative effect (Chapman 2002: Section 5.2).

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insights. Viewability. Enclosure as status.

Wymbush, Buckinghamshire (SP828389)

(Main references: Zeepvat 1987b; Zeepvat 1988b)

Location 1 km from Watling Street. Aisled timber house from the early-second century. Also two stone-built buildings, one domestic (22m x 11m approx.), which was tiled, plastered and initially had three rooms (late-second/early-third century), to which two rooms and a corridor were later added; the other close by and agricultural and probably early-third century. Late-third century abandonment. Satellite farmstead on the Bancroft estate?

Consumption perspective. Partial excavation. Interim report.

Consumption insight. Road values. Reference to possible owner trait.

APPENDIX 3.

Specialists in disciplines within the social sciences who were contacted during this study. Their help is acknowledged and they are hereby thanked.

Roy Baumeister, Epps Professor of Social Psychology at Florida State University.

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Professor Ian Deary, Department of Psychology, University of Edinburgh.

Richard Depue, Department of Human Development, Laboratory of Neurobiology of Personality and Emotion, Ithaca, New York.

Russell Epstein. Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology (Centre for Cognitive Neuroscience), University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Adrian Furnham, Department of Psychology, University College London.

Sam Gosling, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Texas, Austin.

Jon Lang, Professor of Architecture, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of New South Wales, Australia.

Professor Mark Leary, Department of Psychology, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Professor Roger Mason, School of Management, University of Salford.

Professor Gerald Matthews, Department of Psychology, University of Cincinnati.

Grant McCracken, Visiting Scholar, Department of Art History and Communications Studies, McGill University, Montreal.

Robert McCrae, Senior Investigator, Personality, Stress and Coping Sectors, Laboratory of Personality and Cognition, National Institute of Aging, National Institutes of Health, Baltimore, Maryland.

Professor Robert Plomin, Institute of Psychiatry, King's College, London.

Professor Shalom Schwartz, Department of Psychology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Charles Stancomb, Director, SRI Consulting Business Intelligence, UK

Professor Harry Triandis (Emeritus), Department of Psychology, University of Illinois.

Duncan Watts, Associate Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York.

APPENDIX 4.

The ‘Costing’ Formula

(Note: For reasons associated with his status as a professional, albeit retired, quantity surveyor, it is the wish of Jack Newman that his working figures are not presented in full in this thesis, though the use of selected information is permitted. To illustrate his approach two shortened examples therefore follow for the contrasting villas of Drayton II, an aisled building, and Bancroft, a winged corridor house. These are supported by specimen workings from other costing case-studies. Each case-study uses building estimates based on 1994 prices.)

A. DRAYTON II (Main reference: Whatley 1998)

Phase 1: (Mid- to late-second century)

	<u>Newman ‘costings’</u>
(i) Main building (381 sq.m. @ £285)	£108,585
(ii) Extra for integral bath-suite in rooms 2,5,6 and 7 (60sq.m. @ £165)	£ 9,900
(iii) Extra for hypocaust in rooms 5, 6 and 7 (47 sq.m. @ £50)	£ 2,350
(iv) Extra for tessellated floors in rooms 8A and 9A (119sq.m. @ £35)	<u>£ 4,165</u>
	<u>£125,000</u>

Note: (Of this total the bath-suite accounts for 7.92% of the ‘cost’; the hypocaust 1.88%; and the tessellation 3.3%. These equate to an overall figure of around £17,000)

Phase 2: (late-second to mid-third century)

(i) Main building (as before)	£108,585
(ii) Add rooms 15 and 16 (11sq.m. @ £285)	£ 2,350
(iii) Extra for hypocausts in rooms 7 and 8A,13 and 14 (79sq.m. @ £50)	£ 3,950
(iv) Extra for bath-house in rooms 15 and 16 (11sq.m. @ £165)	£ 1815
(v) Extra for tessellated floors in rooms 8A and 9A (119sq.m. @ £35)	<u>£ 4165</u>
	<u>£121,650</u>

Note: (Of this total the hypocausts account for 3.25% of the ‘cost’; the bath-house 1.49%; and the tessellation 3.42%. These equate to an overall figure of around £10,000)

Phase 3: (mid-third to mid-fourth century)

(i)	Main building (as before)	£108,585
(ii)	Add rooms 3, 4A and 4B, 10, 11 and 18 (117sq.m. @ £328, including a figure of 15% for alterations)	£ 38,376
(iii)	Extra for hypocausts in rooms 2,3, 4A and 4B, 5, 6 and 7 (150sq.m. @ £50)	£ 7,500
(iv)	Extra for bath-suites in rooms 2, 4A and 4B, 5,6 and 7 (85sq.m. @ £165)	£ 14,025
(v)	Extra for tessellated floors in rooms 1, 9A, 19 and 20 (117sq.m. @ £35)	£ 4,095
(vi)	Extra for high quality mosaics in rooms 2, 4B and 10 (38sq.m. @ £135)	<u>£ 10,260</u>
		<u>£182,841</u>

Note: (Of this total the hypocausts account for 4.10% of the 'cost'; the bath-suite 7.67%; the tessellation 2.23% and the fine mosaics 5.61%. These equate to an overall figure of £35,880)

B. BANCROFT (Main reference: Zeepvat 1994)

Phase V: (Mid-fourth to early-fifth century)

(i)	Main building, including porch (553 sq.m. @ £285)	£157,605
(ii)	Extra for integral bath-suite in rooms 9,10,14,15,16 and 17 (123 sq.m. @ £165)	£ 20,295
(iii)	Extra for bath-house in rooms 18 and 19 (32 sq.m. @ £233 – including hypocaust and 15% costs of extension)	£ 10,056
(iv)	Extra for hypocaust in room 8 (60 sq.m.@ £50)	£ 3,000
(v)	Extra for average quality mosaic floors in rooms 1,2,9,10 and 12 (256 sq.m. @ £135)	£ 34,560
(vi)	Extra for very high quality mosaic in room 8 (54 sq.m. @ £270)	<u>£ 14,580</u>
		<u>£240,096</u>

Note: (Of this total the bath-suites account for 8.45% and 4.18% respectively of the 'cost'; the hypocaust 1.25%; and the mosaics 20.47%. These equate to an overall figure of around £82,500.)

C. OTHER 'COSTING' EXAMPLES

1. Piddington villa. Boundary wall (Main reference: Roy Friendship-Taylor pers.comm.)

(i)	Excavations for the foundations (108m). Including digging, removing the soil and packing the foundations	£ 2,970
(ii)	Building wall to 2.5m in total height (including foundations)	£ 27,000

(iii)	Stone coping	£ 3,240
(iv)	Allowance for preparing finished entrance	£ 500
		<u>£ 33,710</u>

2. Castle Dykes. Enclosure ditch and mounds (Main reference: Lukis 1875)

(i)	Assume a 50m stretch for this example.	
(ii)	Excavation of ditch through over 2m of solid limestone, and 7m across	£ 24,000
(iii)	Creating two banks up to 3m high and 4m across at the base	£ 31,500
(iv)	Removing rock and soil	£ 14,500
		<u>£ 70,000</u>

3. Contrasting 'costs' of aisled building D at Winterton and winged corridor G
(Main reference: Stead 1976)

(a) Building D

(i)	Main building (764 sq.m. @ £285)	£217,740
(ii)	Extra for internal bath-suite in rooms 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20. (80 sq.m. @ £165), including hypocaust (80 sq.m. @ £50)	£ 17,200
(iii)	Extra for mosaic of average quality in room 5 (28 sq.m. @ £135)	£ 3,780
(iv)	Extra for high quality mosaics in rooms 3, 6 and 13 (121 sq.m. @ £270)	£ 32,670
(v)	Extra for tessellated pavement in room 17 (19 sq.m. @ £35)	£ 665
		<u>£272,055</u>

(b) Building G

(i)	Main building (594 sq.m. @ £285, including original apsed room)	£194,490
(ii)	Extra for hypocaust in room 9 (19 sq.m. @ £50)	£ 950
(iii)	Extra for average quality mosaics in rooms 13 and 15 (36 sq.m. @ £135)	£ 4,860
(iv)	Extra for tessellated pavements in rooms 14 and 16 (98 sq.m. @ £35)	£ 3,430
(v)	Extra for average quality mosaic in original apsed room (50 sq.m. @ £135)	£ 6,750
		<u>£210,480</u>

4. Piddington Villa well (Main reference: Simpson 2002)

(i)	Excavation costed at a succession of 2m stages with each increasing in cost	£ 2,880
(ii)	Costs of spreading and levelling the soil; breaking out solid rock; clay packing behind stone walling	£ 3,630
(iii)	Placing small stone filling between clay and stonework and squared limestone coursing	£ 6,250
(iv)	Tower scaffolding for well interior	£ 750
(v)	Limestone false floor to base of well	£ 150
(vi)	Contingencies	£ 340
		<u>£ 14,000</u>

5. Bancroft villa gardens (Main reference: Zeepvat 1994)

(Figures prepared using 2003 prices quoted by landscape gardener Rodney Casey)

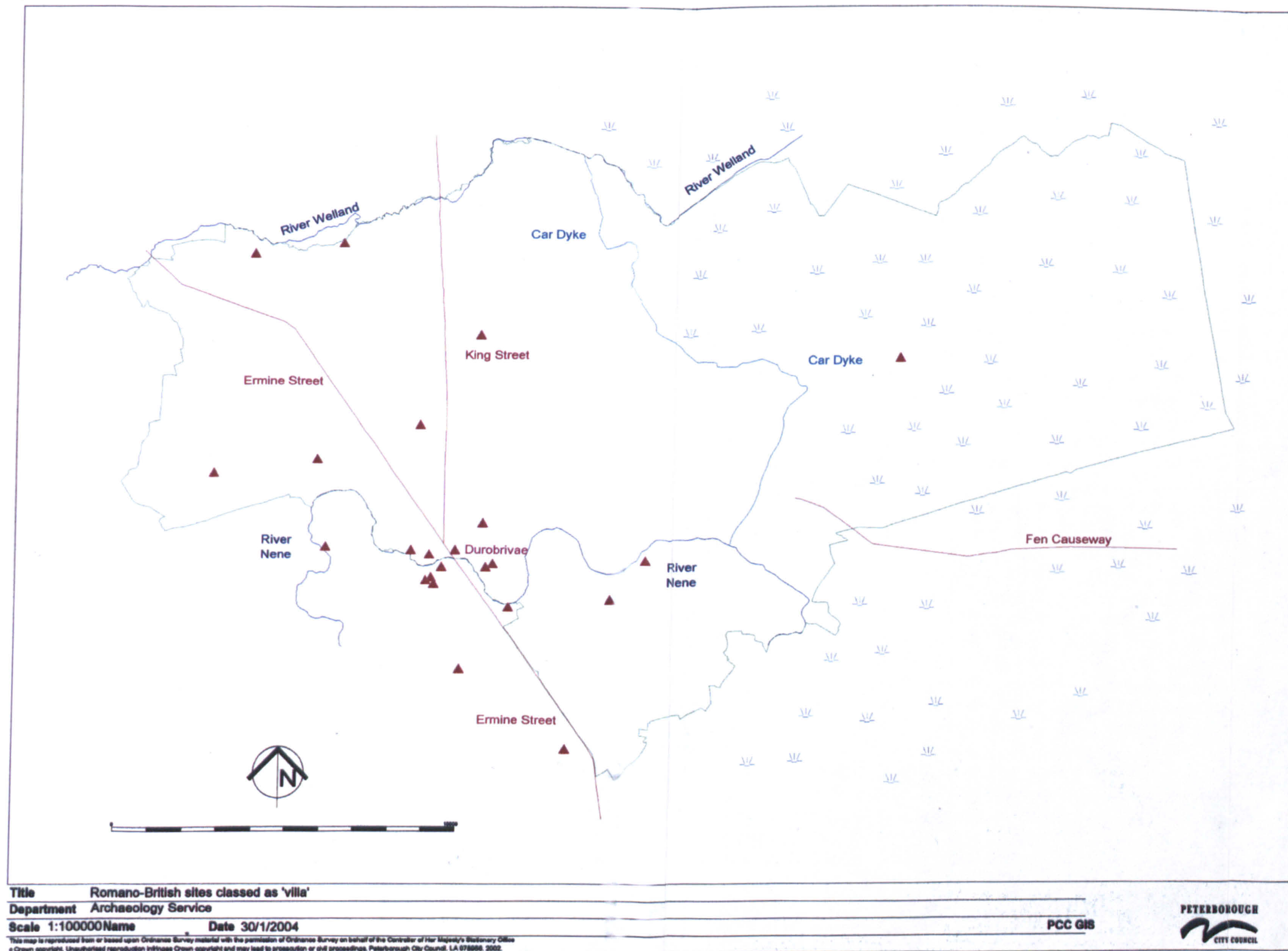
(a)	Walled Garden (37m x 46m)	
(i)	Advance preparation of ground (15 man-days)	£ 1,500
(ii)	Acquiring 200 yew plants and planting (3 man-days)	£ 2,000
(iii)	Acquiring plants and shrubs	£ 1,500
(iv)	Planting a border of plants and shrubs (10 man-days)	£ 1,000
(v)	Preparing garden for lawn (4 man-days) plus seed	£ 500
(vi)	Contingency	£ 500
		<u>£ 7,000</u>
(b)	Kitchen Garden (20m x 43m)	
(i)	Advance preparation of ground, including paths (10 man-days)	£ 1,000
(ii)	Building cold frames, fruit cages; supplying stakes, trellisses etc.	£ 1,000
(iii)	Supply of seeds, plants etc. and digging in	£ 1,250
(iv)	Contingency	£ 250
		<u>£ 3,500</u>
	Total	<u>£ 3,500</u>

6. Contrasting 'costs' of Denton bath-house and Beadlam bath-suite

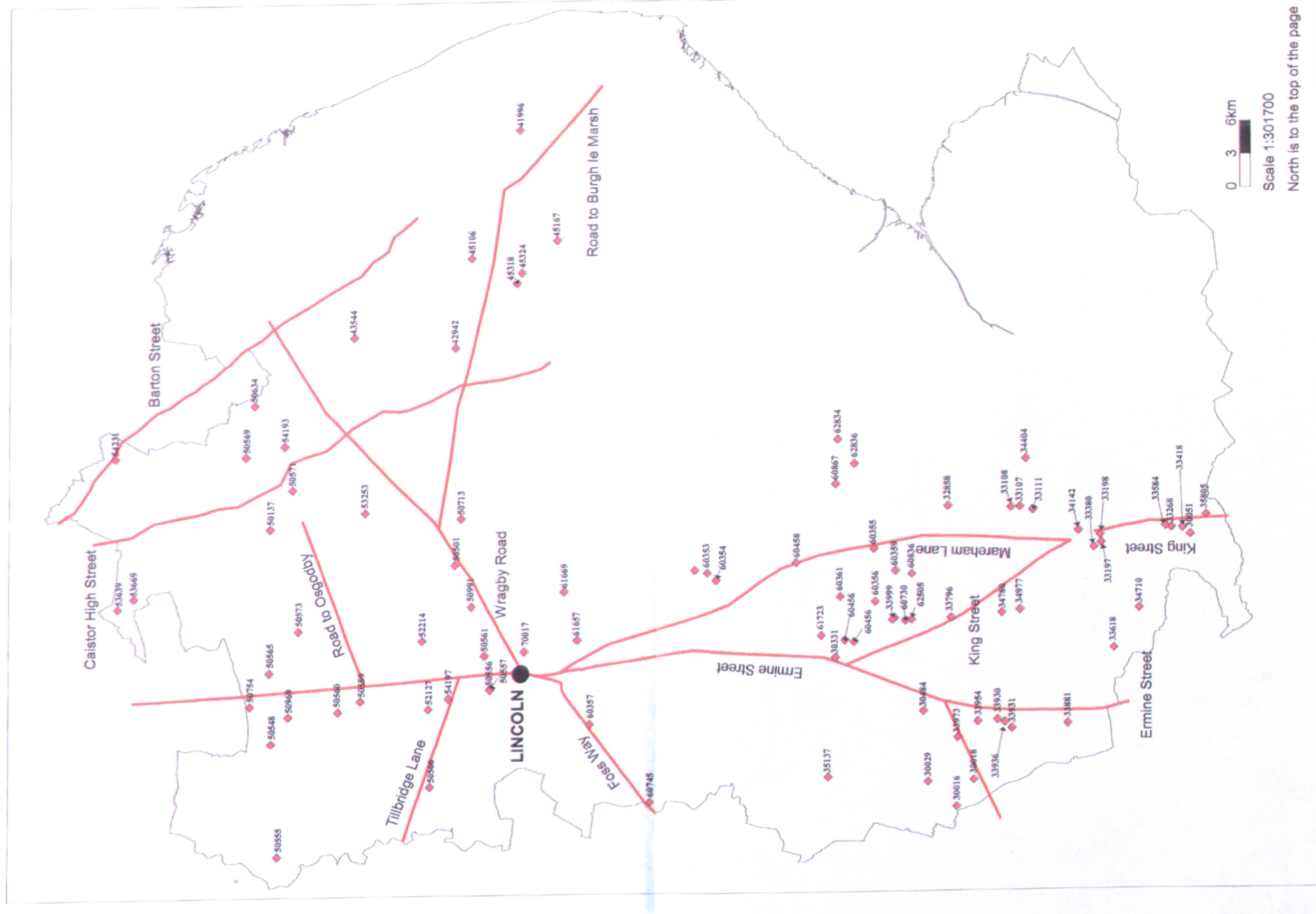
(a) Denton bath-house (Main reference: Greenfield: 1971)		
(i)	Structure of building (49 sq.m. @ £700)	£ 34,300
(ii)	Extra for hypocaust (16 sq.m. @ £50)	£ 800
(iii)	Extra for average quality mosaic (estimate)	£ 1,350
		<u>£ 36,450</u>
 (b) Beadlam bath-suite (Main reference: Neal 1996)		
(i)	Structure of building 2 (320 sq.m. @ £285)	£ 91,200
(ii)	Extra costs of integral bath-suite (118 sq.m. @ £165)	£ 19,470
(iii)	Extra cost for hypocaust (58 sq.m. @ £50)	£ 2,900
		<u>£113,570</u>
(Note: 'Cost' of bath-suite was therefore £22,370)		

APPENDIX 5

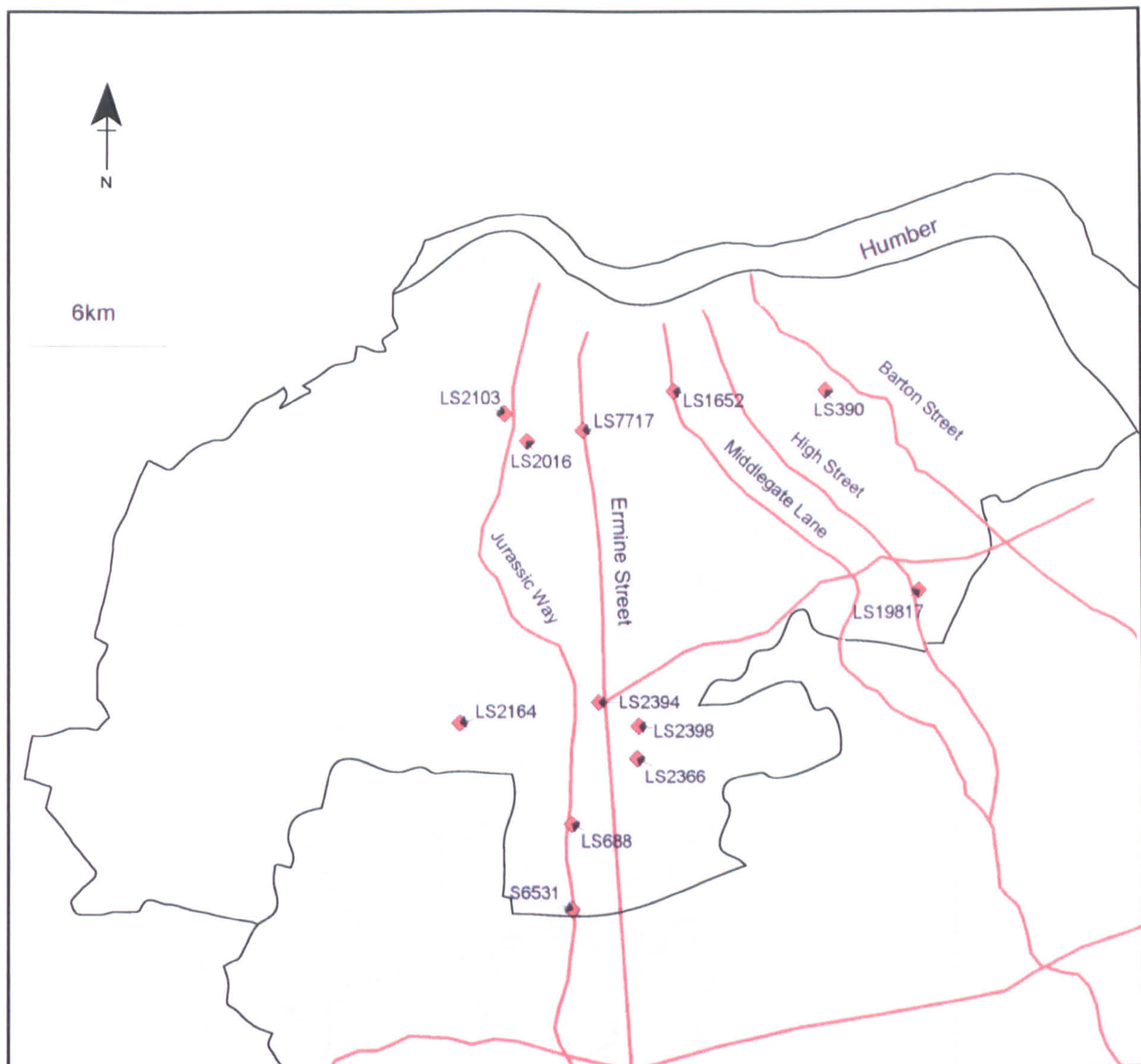
- (5a) SMR map of Northamptonshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5b) SMR map of Leicestershire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5c) SMR map for the Peterborough area of roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5d) SMR map of Lincolnshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5e) SMR map of North Lincolnshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5f) SMR map of Nottinghamshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5g) SMR map of the area near Carsington villa in
Derbyshire**
- (5h) Map based on SMR records (to which roads have been
added) showing East Yorkshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**
- (5i) Map based on SMR records (to which roads have been
added) showing North Yorkshire roads and villas
(known and possible)**



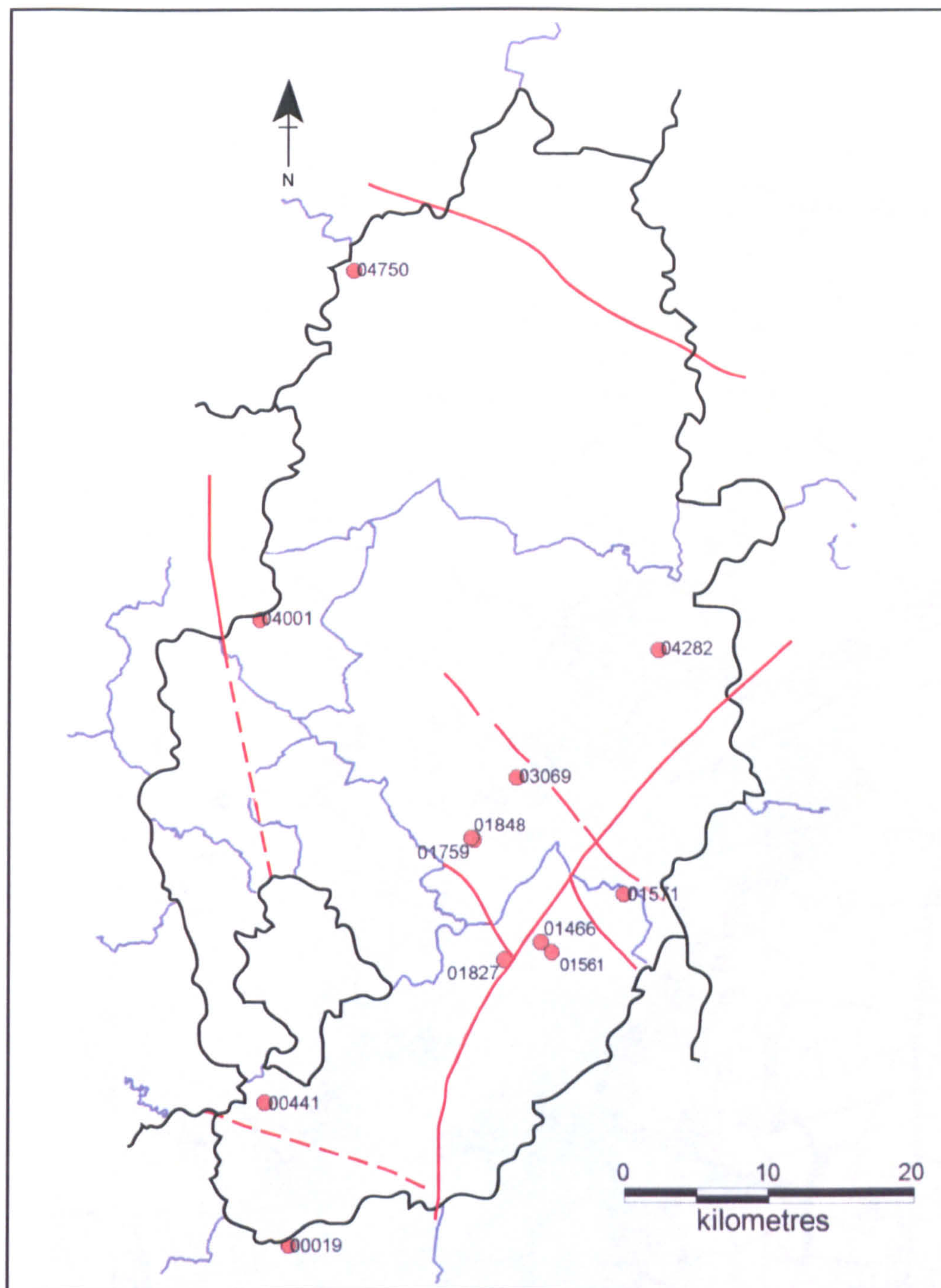
(5c) SMR map for the Peterborough area of roads and villas (known and possible)



(5d) SMR map of Lincolnshire roads and villas (known and possible)



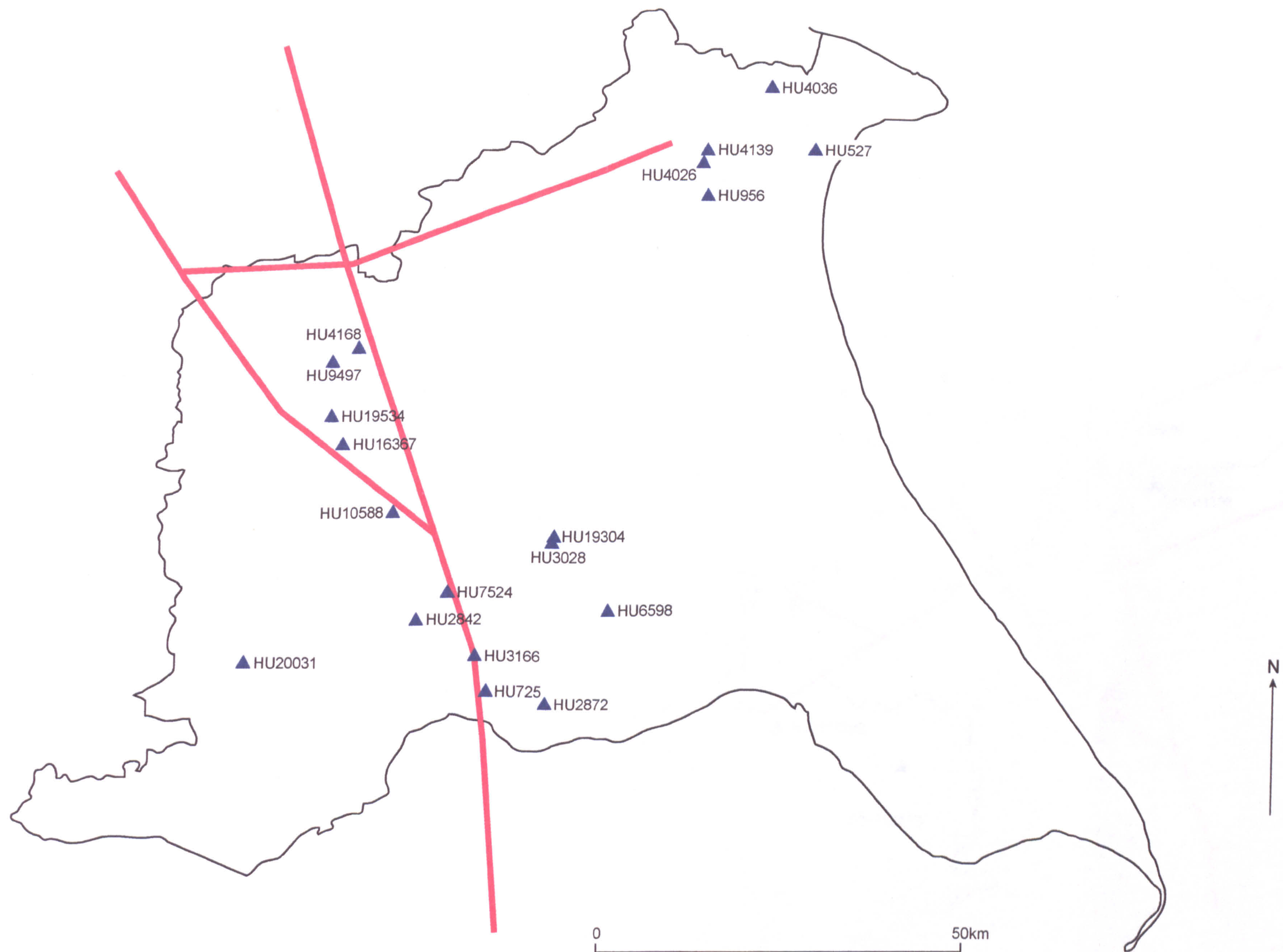
(5e) **SMR map of North Lincolnshire roads and villas (known and possible).**



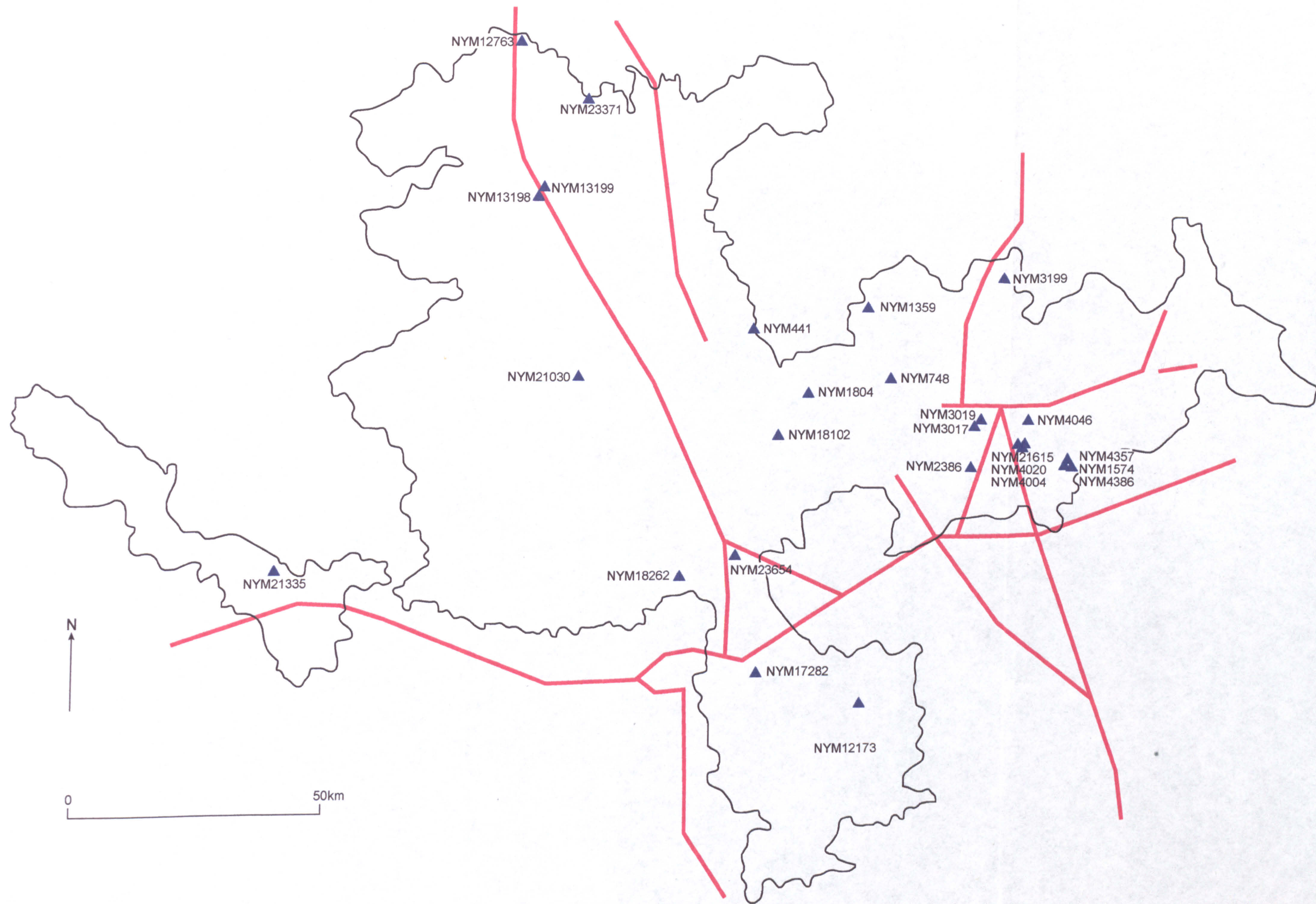
(5f) SMR map of Nottinghamshire roads and villas (known and possible).



(5g) SMR map of the area near Carsington villa in Derbyshire



5 (h) Map based on SMR records (to which roads have been added) showing East Yorkshire roads and villas (known and possible)



5 (i) Map based on SMR records (to which roads have been added) showing North Yorkshire roads and villas (known and possible)

APPENDIX 6.

SRIC/VALS Survey

Have you taken this survey before? ☐ Yes ☐ No

1. I am often interested in theories.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
2. I like outrageous people and things.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
3. I like a lot of variety in my life.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
4. I love to make things I can use everyday.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
5. I follow the latest trends and fashions.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
6. Just as the Bible says, the world literally was created in six days.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
7. I like being in charge of a group.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
8. I like to learn about art, culture, and history.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
9. I often crave excitement.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
10. I am really interested only in a few things.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
11. I would rather make something than buy it.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
12. I dress more fashionably than most people.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
13. The federal government should encourage prayers in public schools.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
14. I have more ability than most people.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

15. I consider myself an intellectual.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

16. I must admit that I like to show off.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

17. I like trying new things.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

18. I am very interested in how mechanical things, such as engines, work.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

19. I like to dress in the latest fashions.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

20. There is too much sex on television today.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

21. I like to lead others.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

22. I would like to spend a year or more in a foreign country.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

23. I like a lot of excitement in my life.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

24. I must admit that my interests are somewhat narrow and limited.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

25. I like making things of wood, metal, or other such material.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

26. I want to be considered fashionable.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

27. A woman's life is fulfilled only if she can provide a happy home for her family.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

28. I like the challenge of doing something I have never done before.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

29. I like to learn about things even if they may never be of any use to me.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

30. I like to make things with my hands.

☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree

31. I am always looking for a thrill.
- ☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
32. I like doing things that are new and different.
- ☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
33. I like to look through hardware or automotive stores.
- ☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
34. I would like to understand more about how the universe works.
- ☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
35. I like my life to be pretty much the same from week to week.
- ☐ Mostly disagree ☐ Somewhat disagree ☐ Somewhat agree ☐ Mostly agree
-

36. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
37. Age: ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65 or over
38. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?
- ☐ Grade 8 or less ☐ Grades 9-11 ☐ High School ☐ 1-3 years of college
- ☐ College (4 years) ☐ Attended or completed graduate school
39. What was your total household income before taxes for the past calendar year (January through December)? (Please include income from all sources, including salaries, pensions, interest, dividends, bonuses, capital gains, profits, other.)
- ☐ less than \$10,000 ☐ \$10,000 - \$14,999 ☐ \$15,000 - \$19,999
- ☐ \$20,000 - \$24,999 ☐ \$25,000 - \$29,999 ☐ \$30,000 - \$39,999
- ☐ \$40,000 - \$49,999 ☐ \$50,000 - \$74,999 ☐ \$75,000 - \$99,999
- ☐ \$100,000 - \$199,999 ☐ \$200,000 or more

40. Please enter your e-mail address: (SRIC-BI makes no client or guest data [including e-mail addresses] available to third parties. Read our privacy policy for more information.)

SUBMIT

CLEAR

(If you cannot see the submit button to the left, you are using an incompatible web browser. Please consider upgrading to a more recent version of your browser and taking the survey again.)

Processing should take 5-10 seconds, depending on the server load. You will be redirected to a web page displaying your results. Your results will NOT be e-mailed to you.

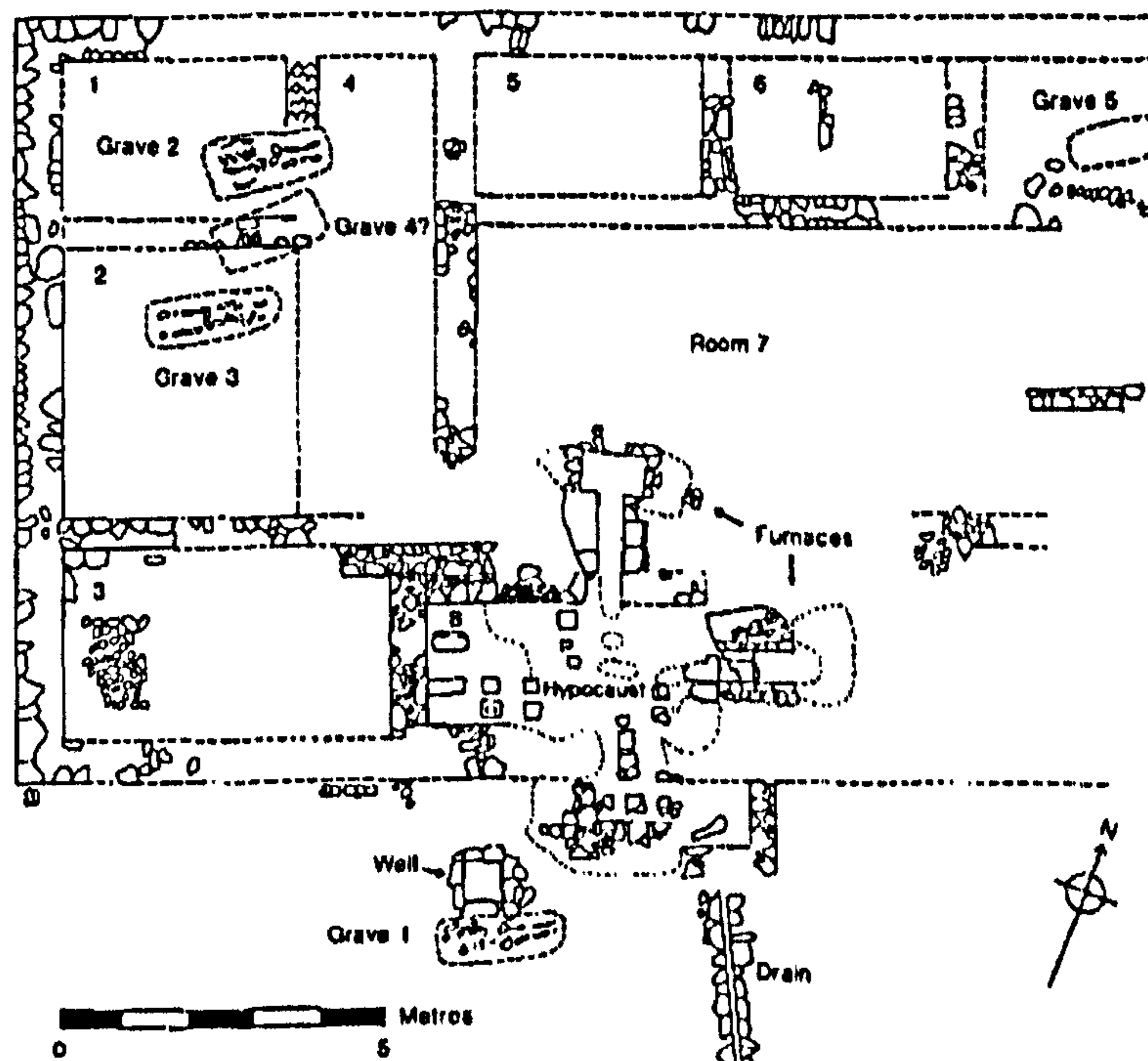
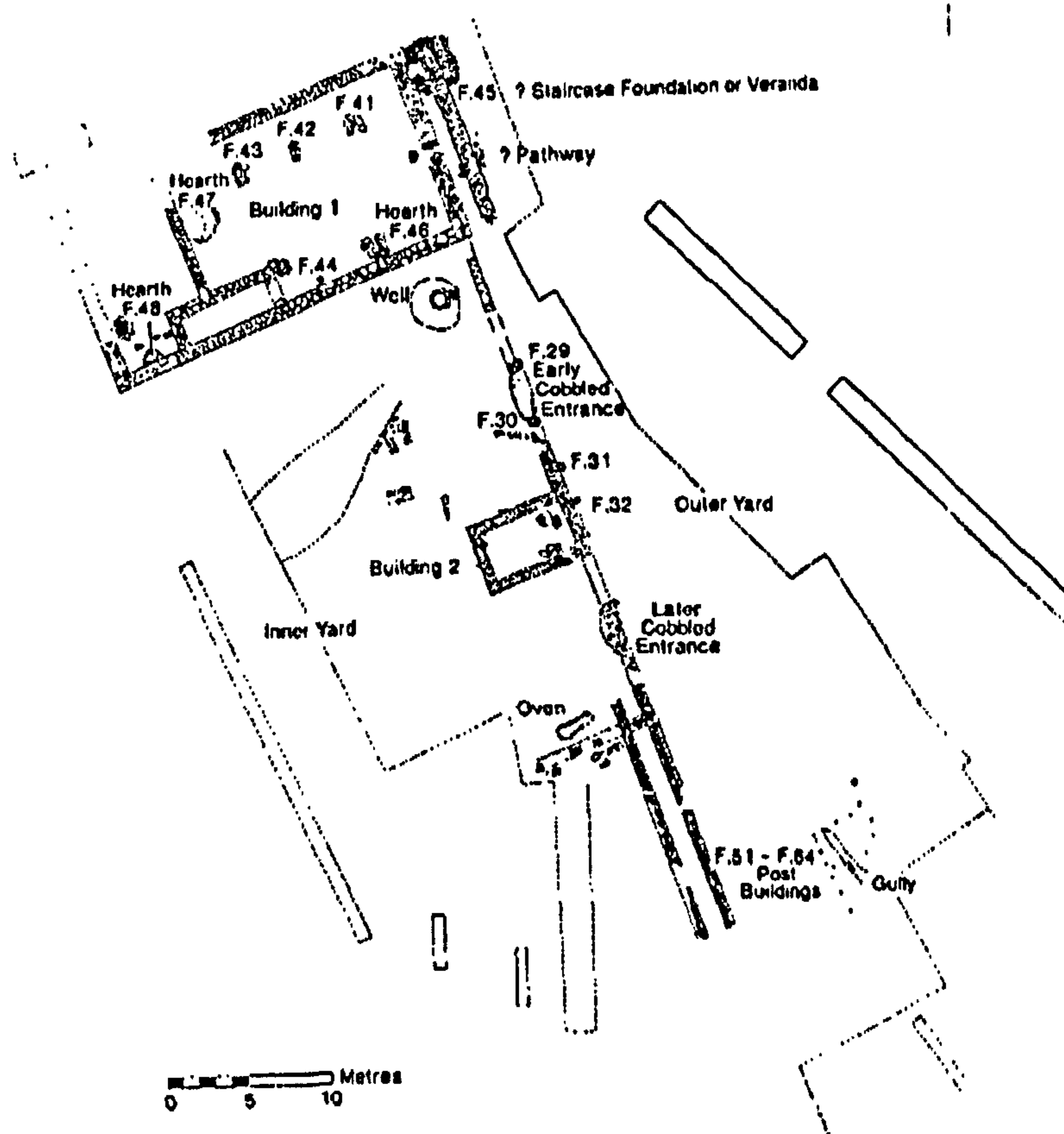


Figure 1. SITE 1 (farmstead) and SITE 2 (villa) at Empingham (Cooper 2000: figs. 6 and 8)

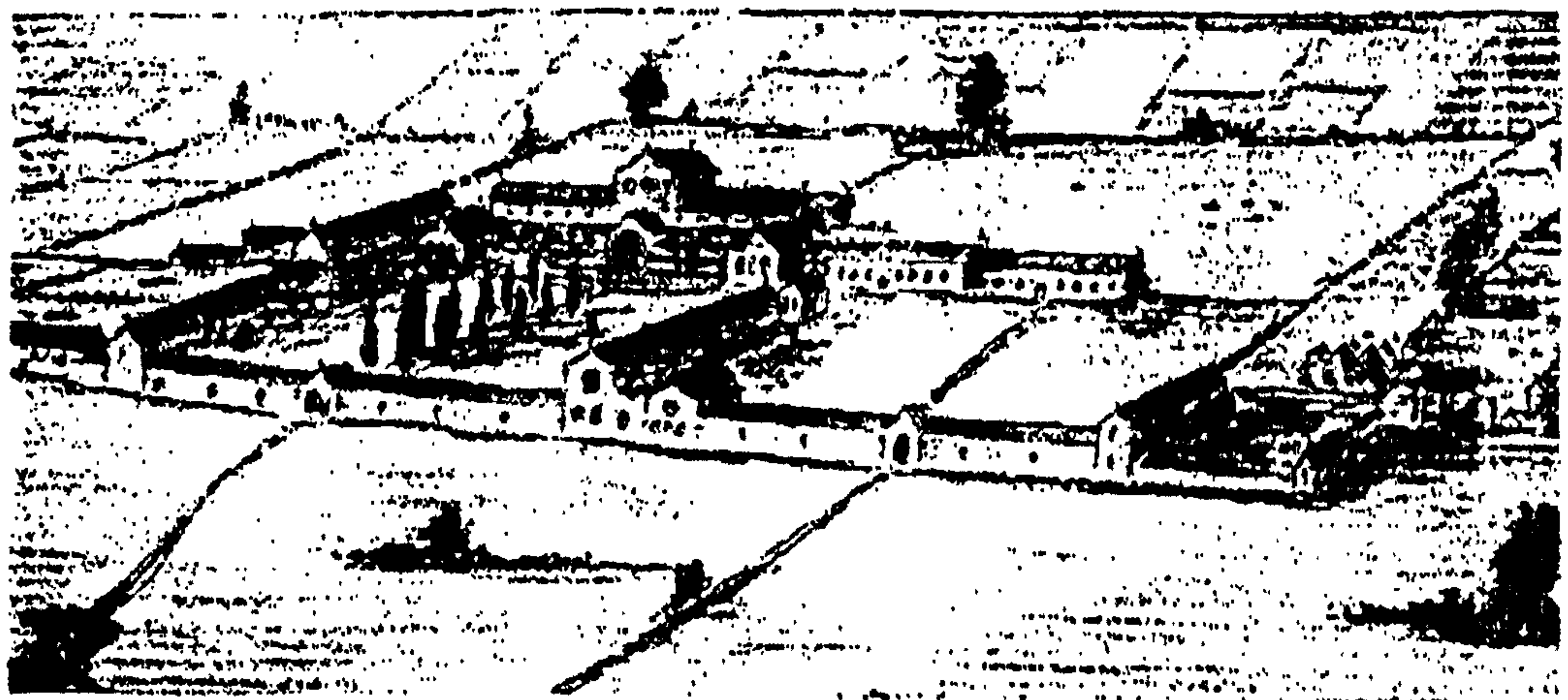
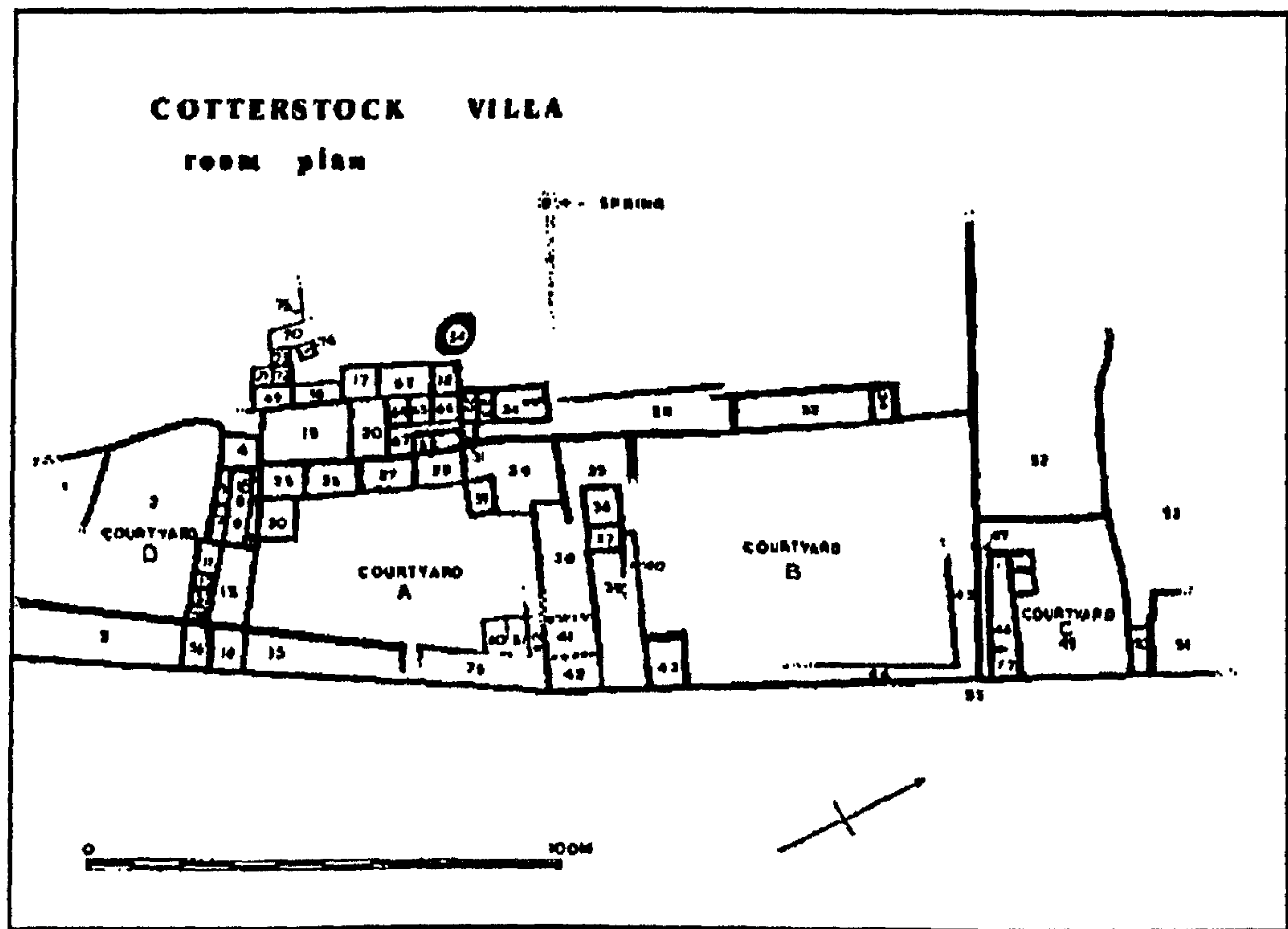


Figure 2. Cotterstock villa; interpretative plan (Upex 2001:83) and reconstruction (Stephen Upex, pers.comm.)

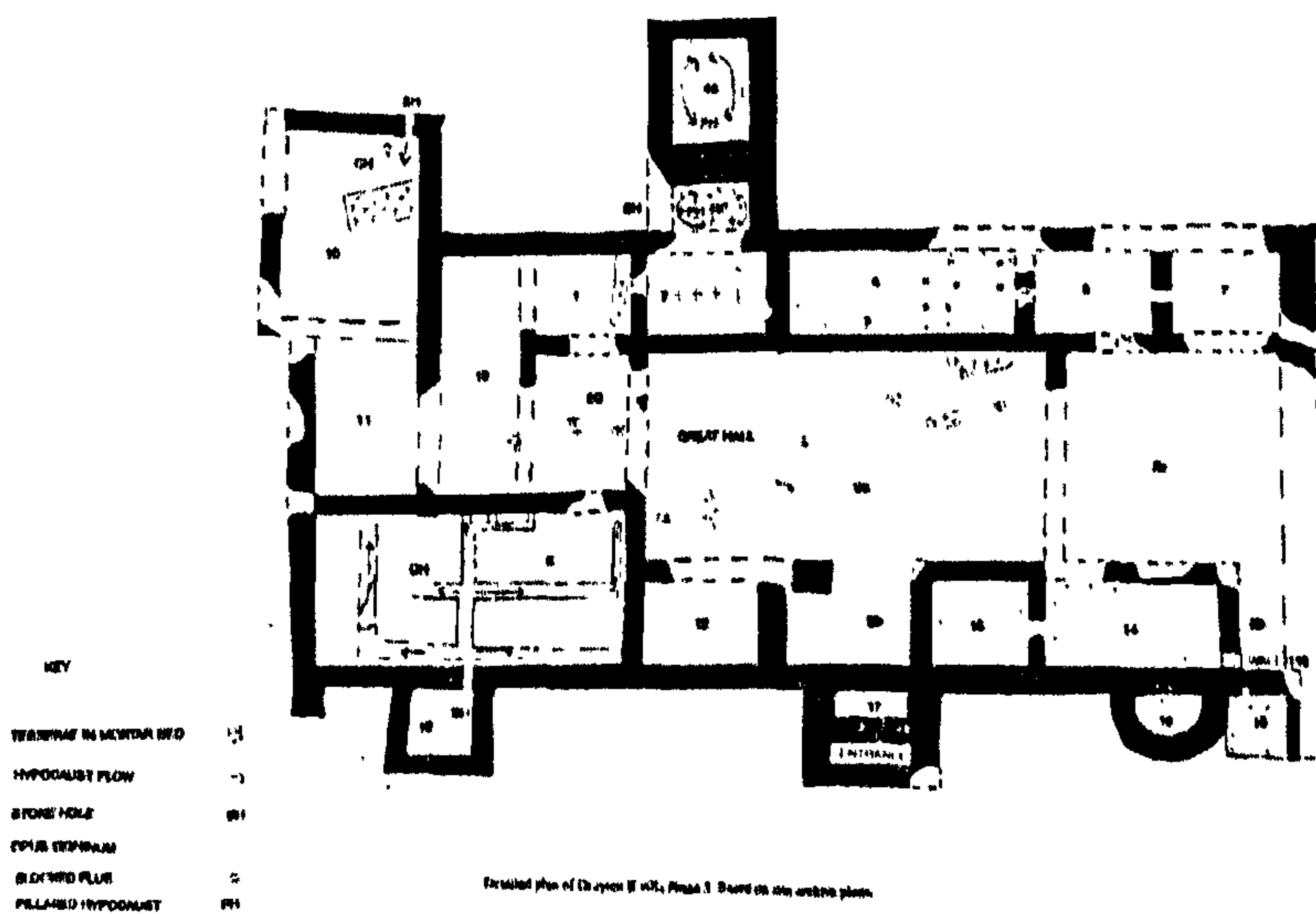
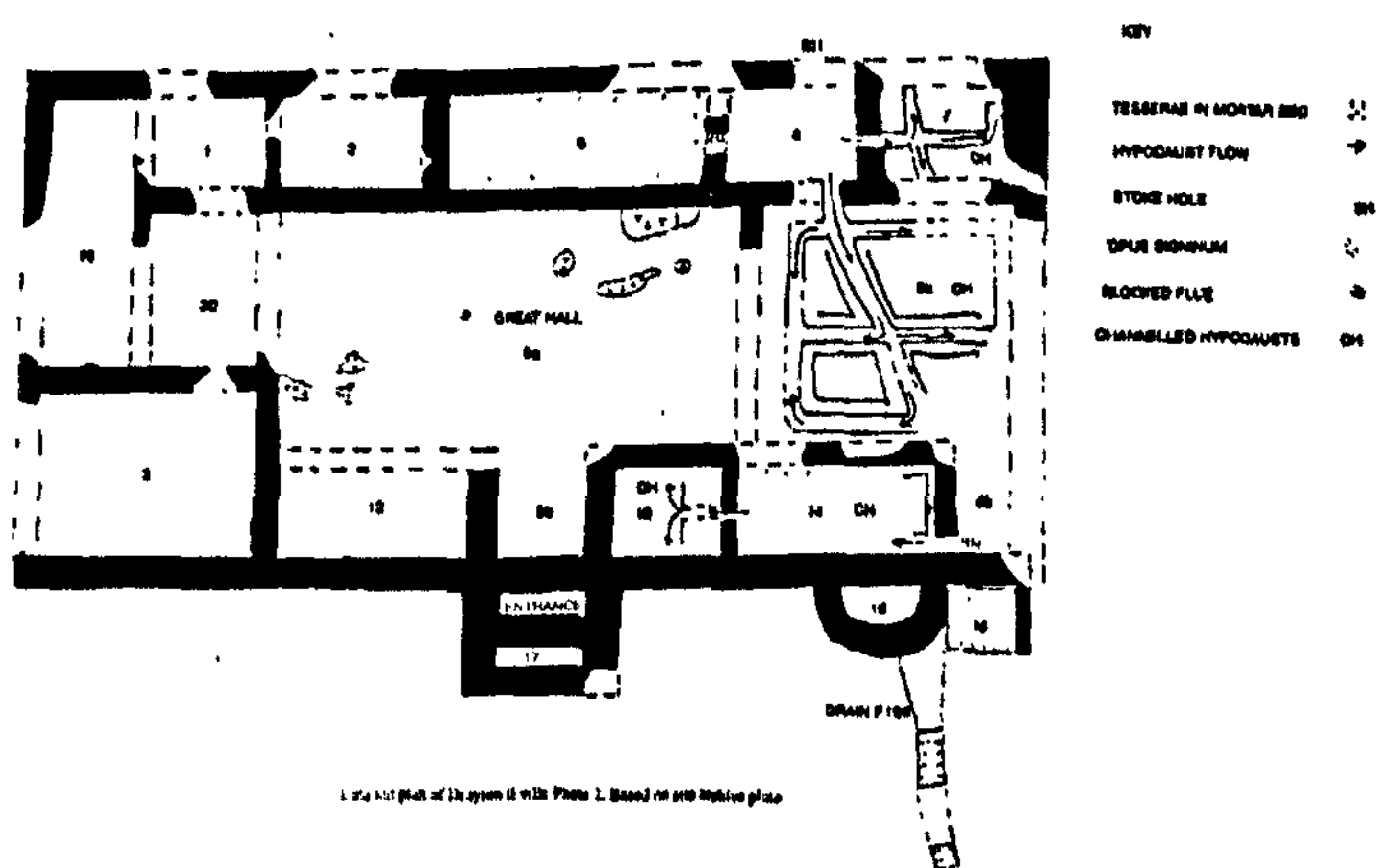
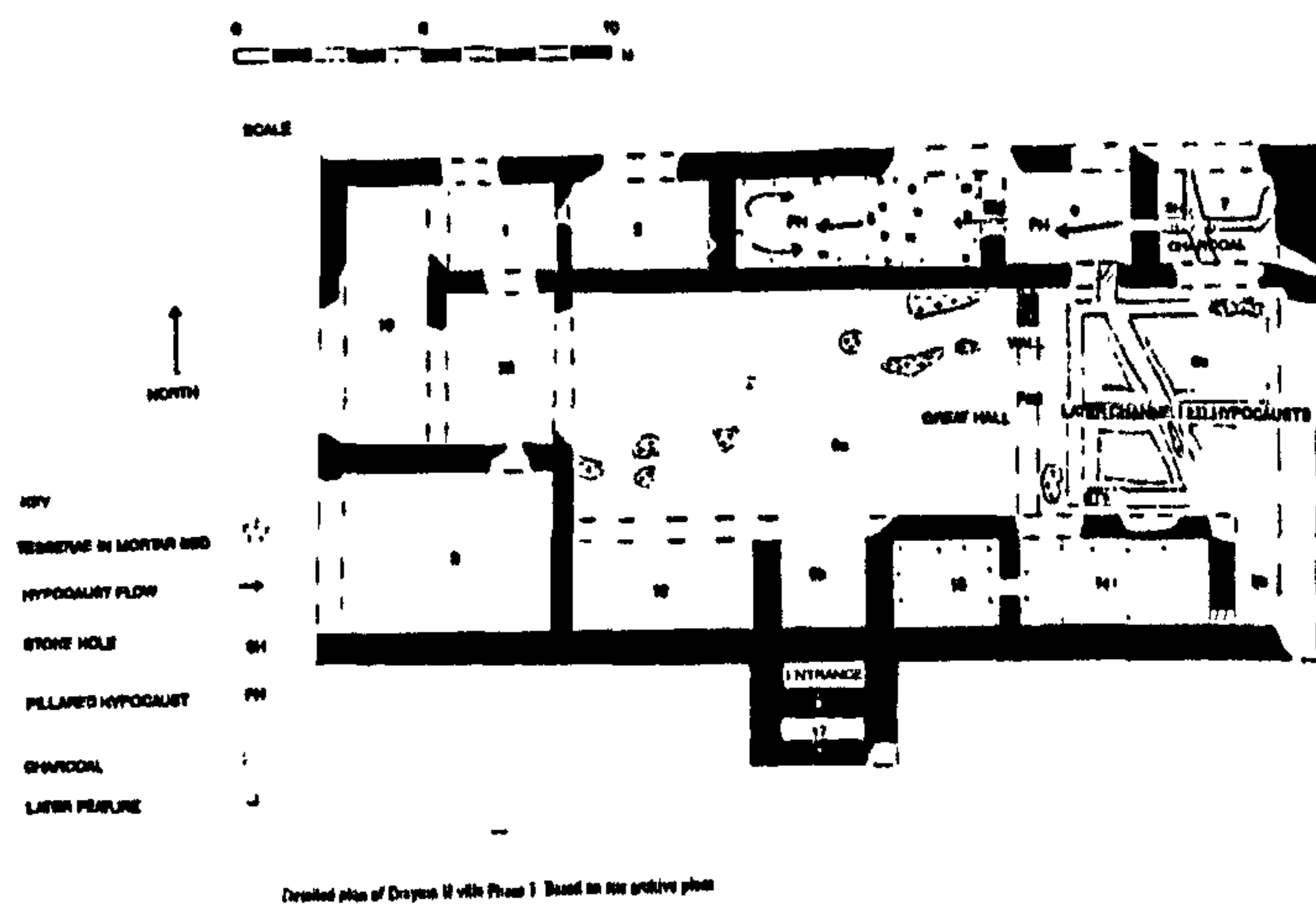


Figure 3. Status-through-consumption: phases at Drayton II (Whatley 1998)

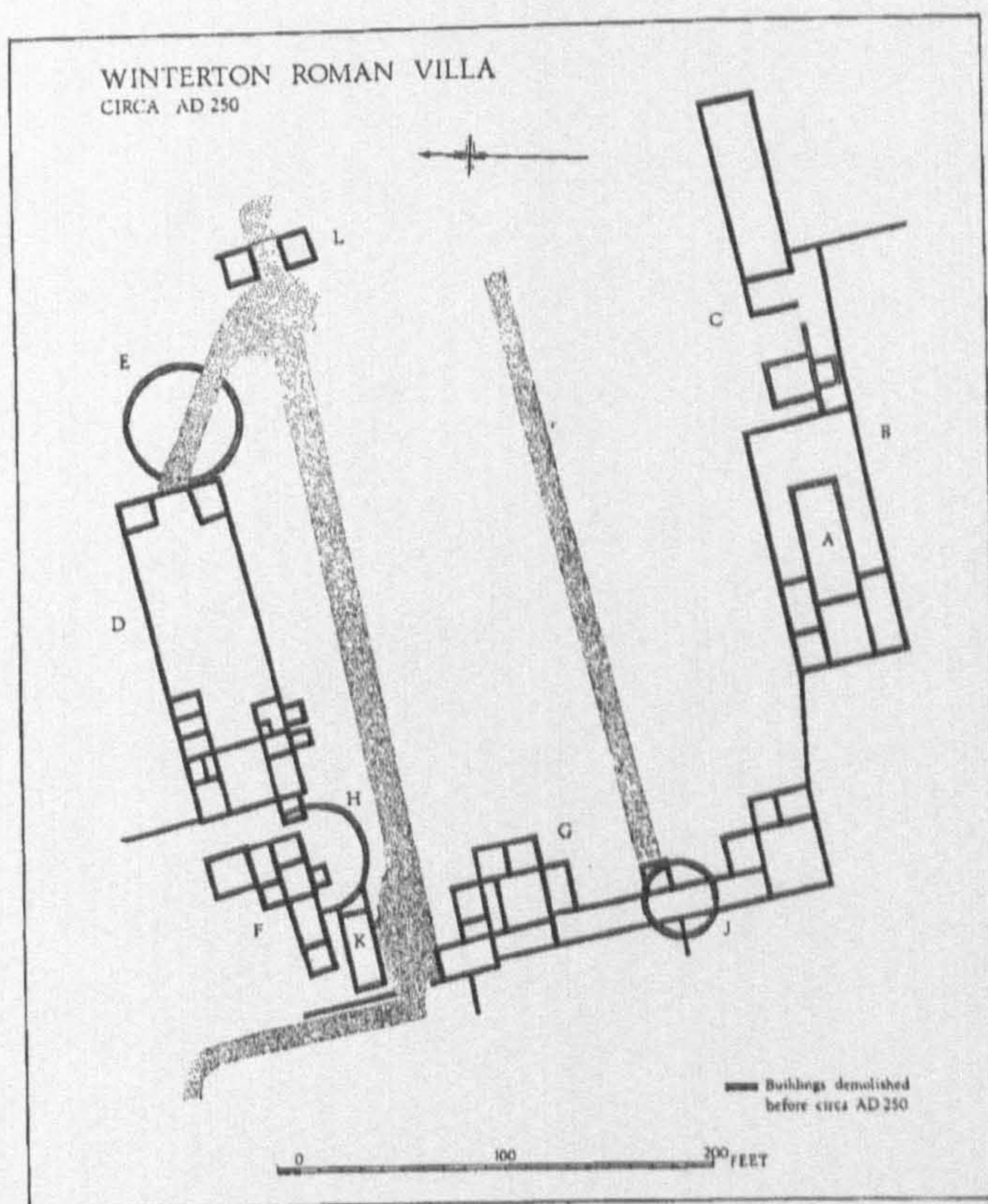
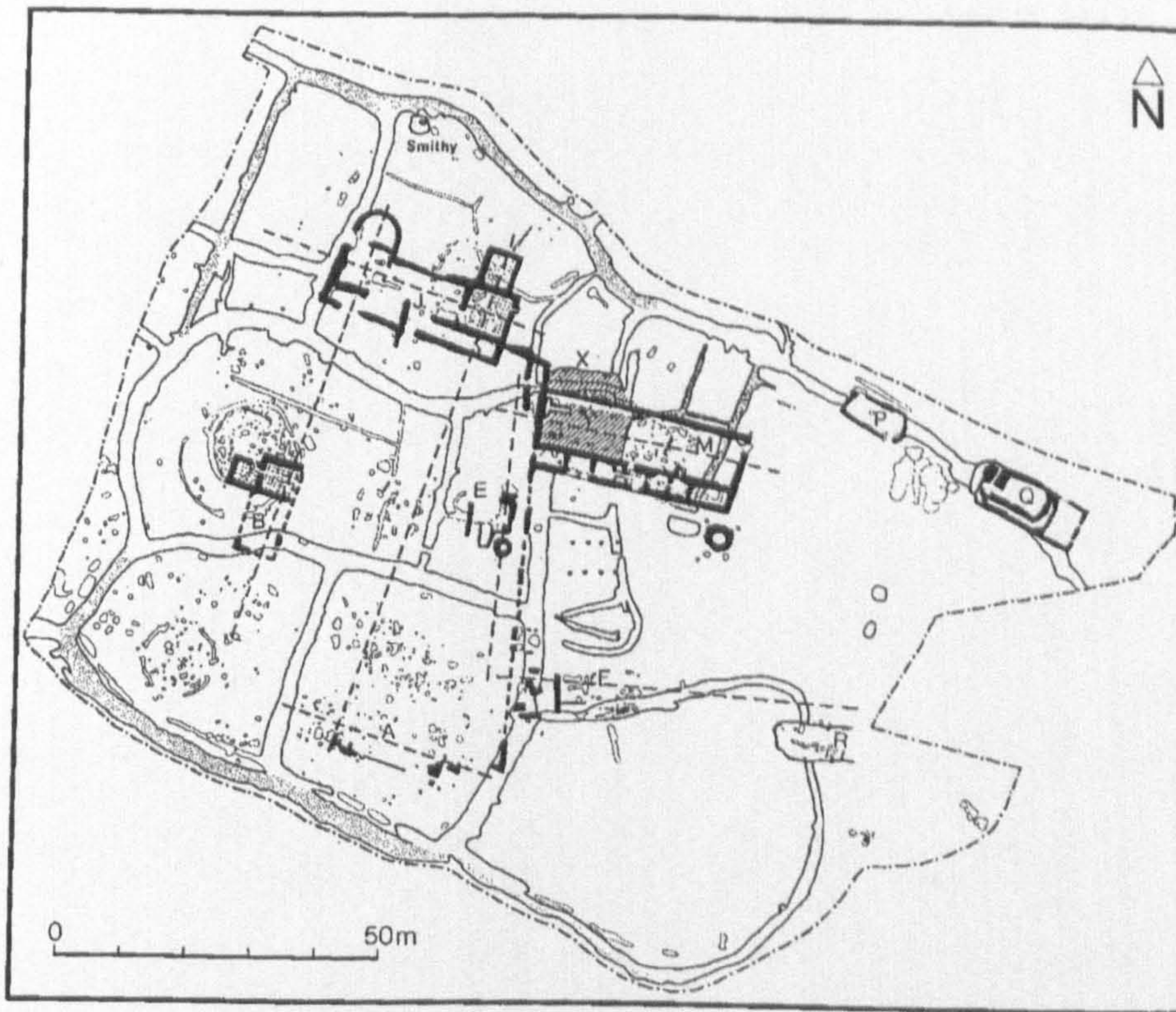
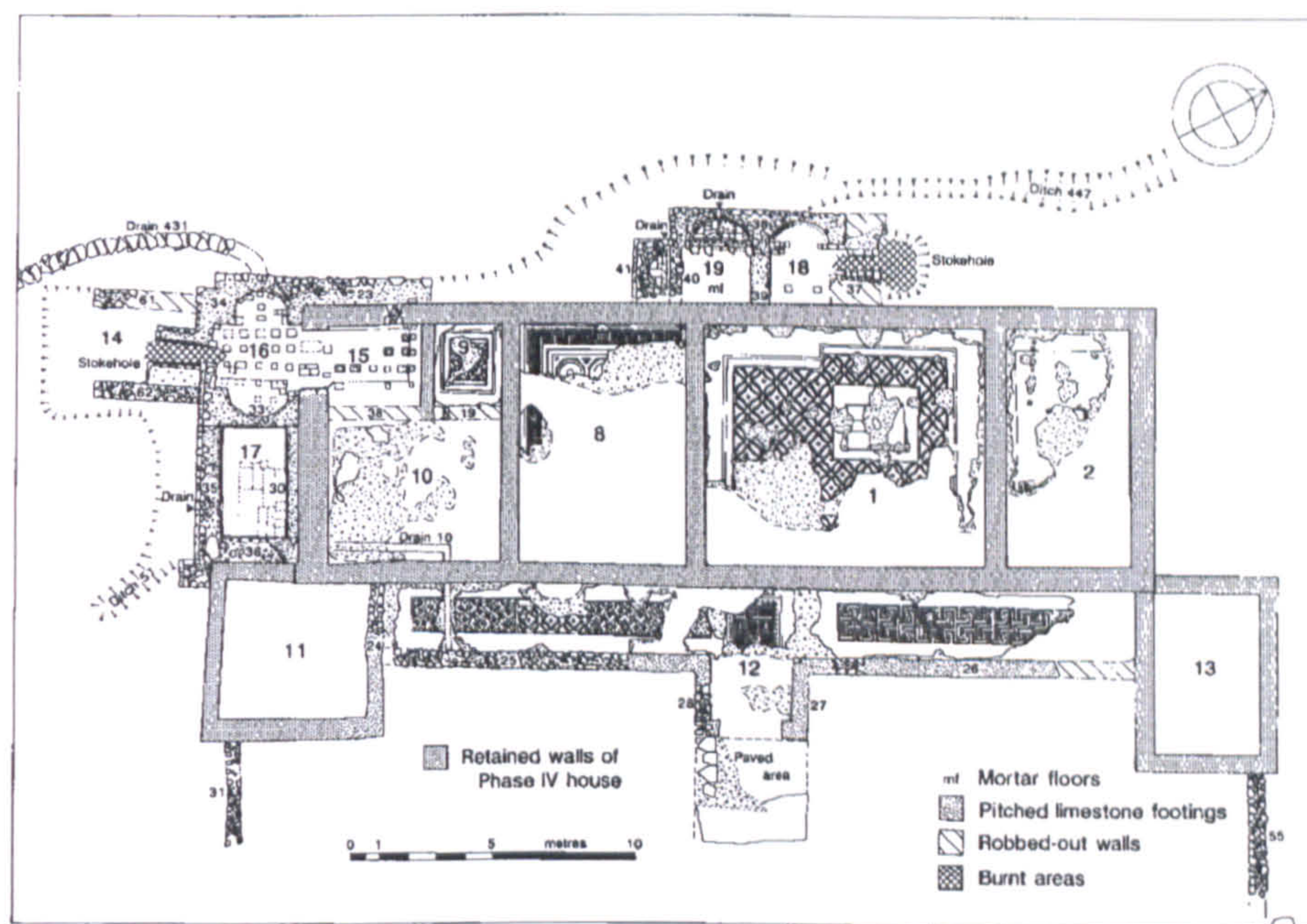


Figure 4. Site layout at Dalton Parlours (Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990: 280) and Winterton (Stead 1976: 82)



Building 1; Phase V plan.

The Roman Villa at Easton Maudit

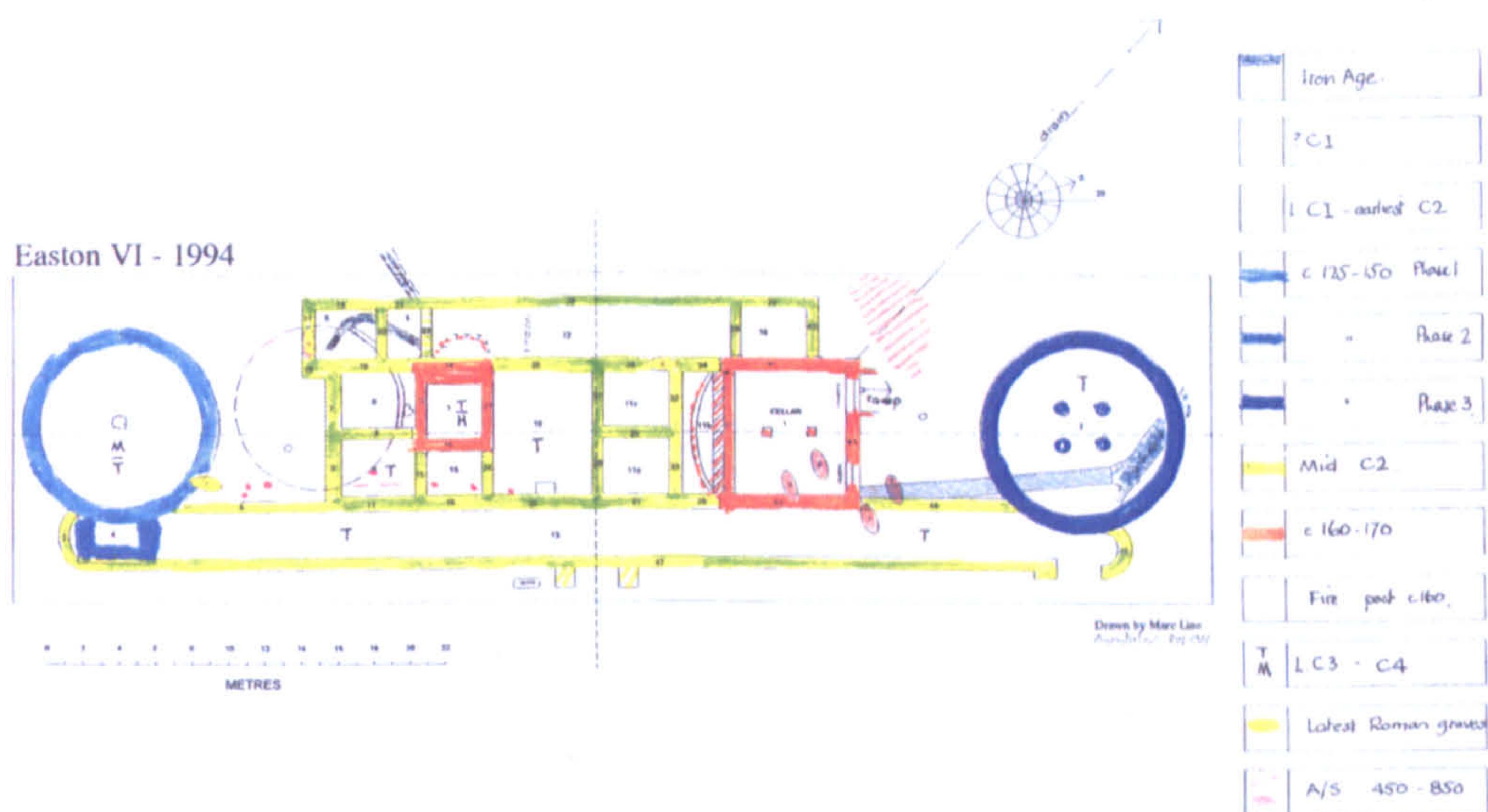


Figure 5. Bancroft (Zeepvat 1994: 177) and Easton Maudit (Woodfield and Woodfield 1994)

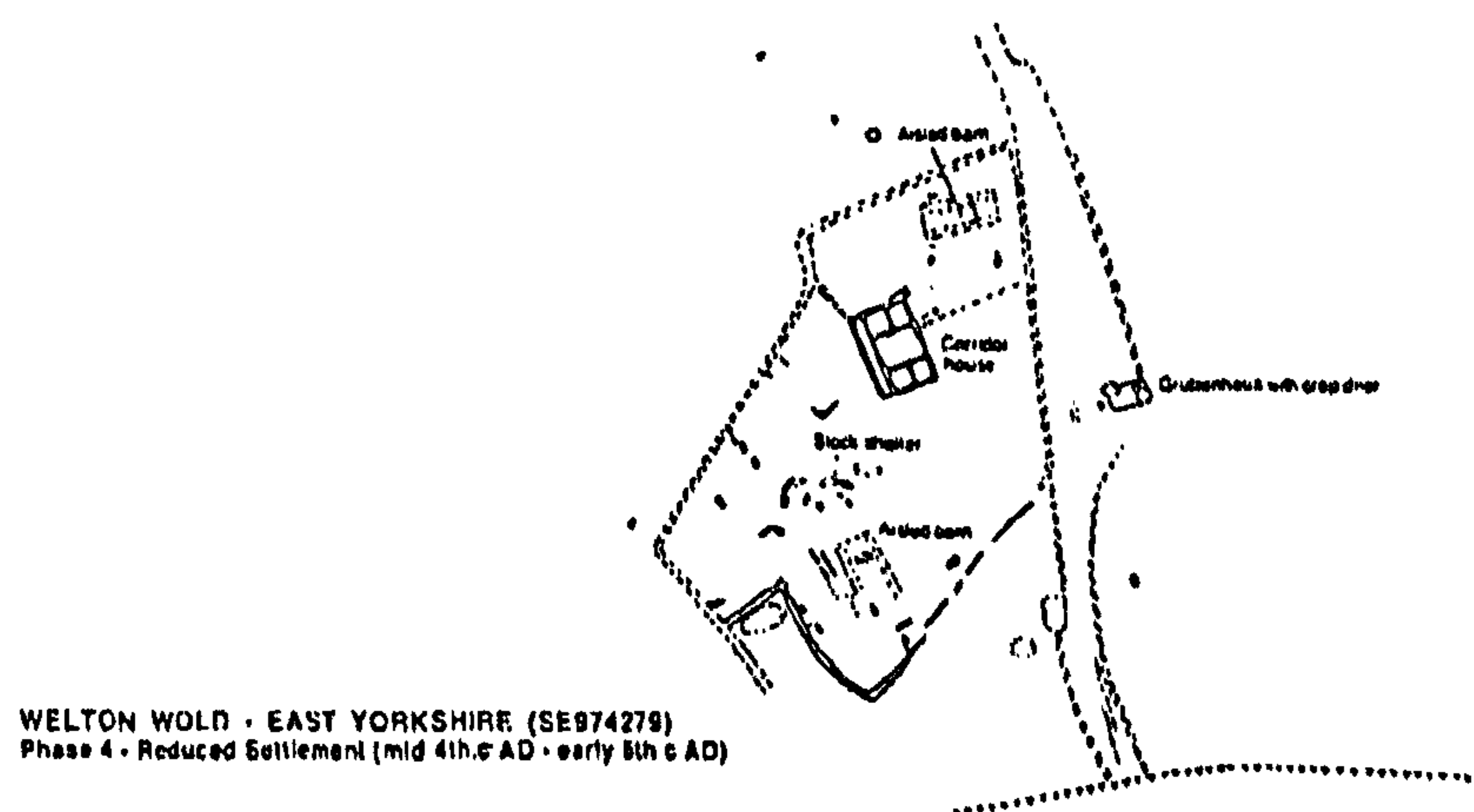
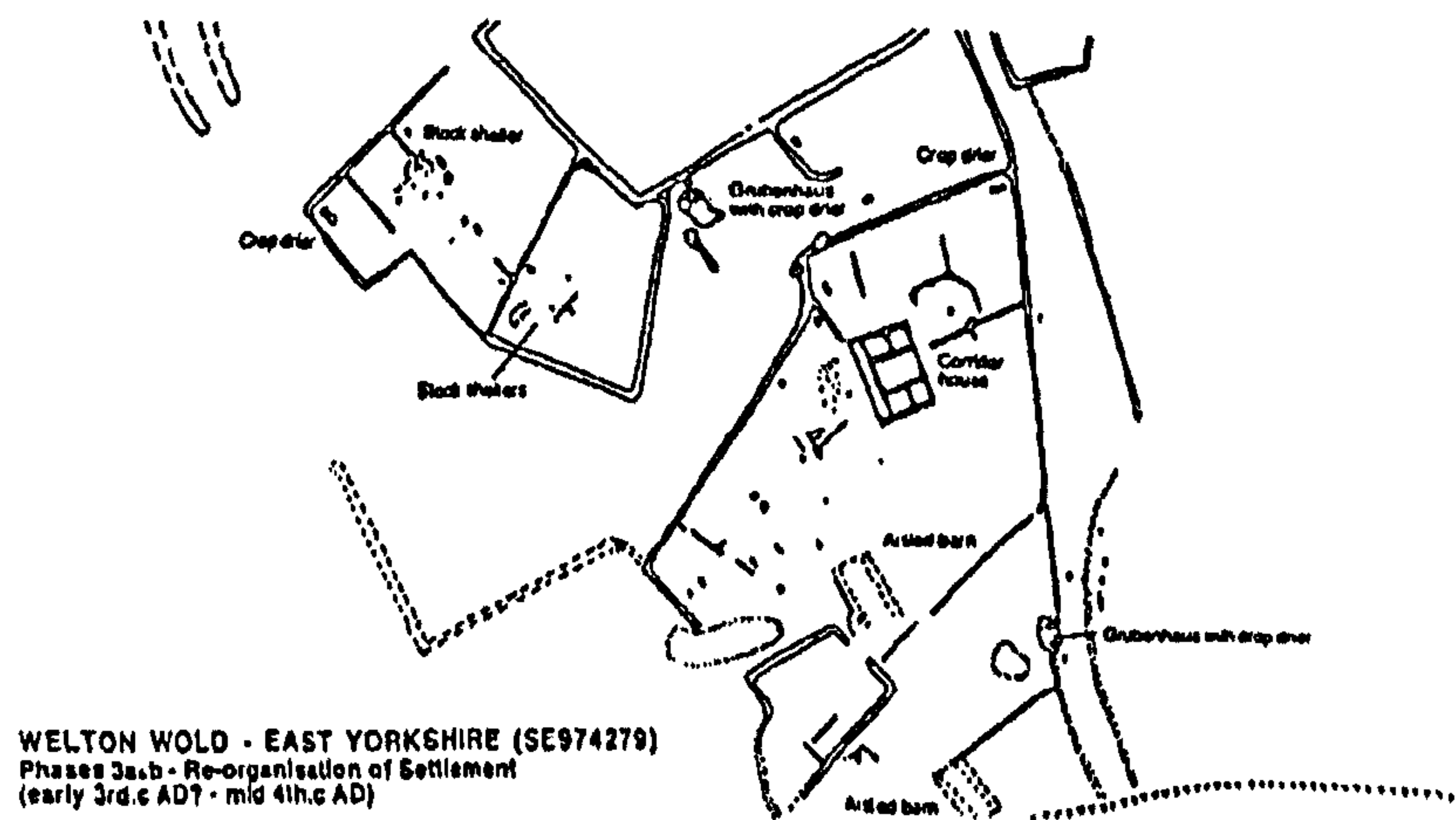
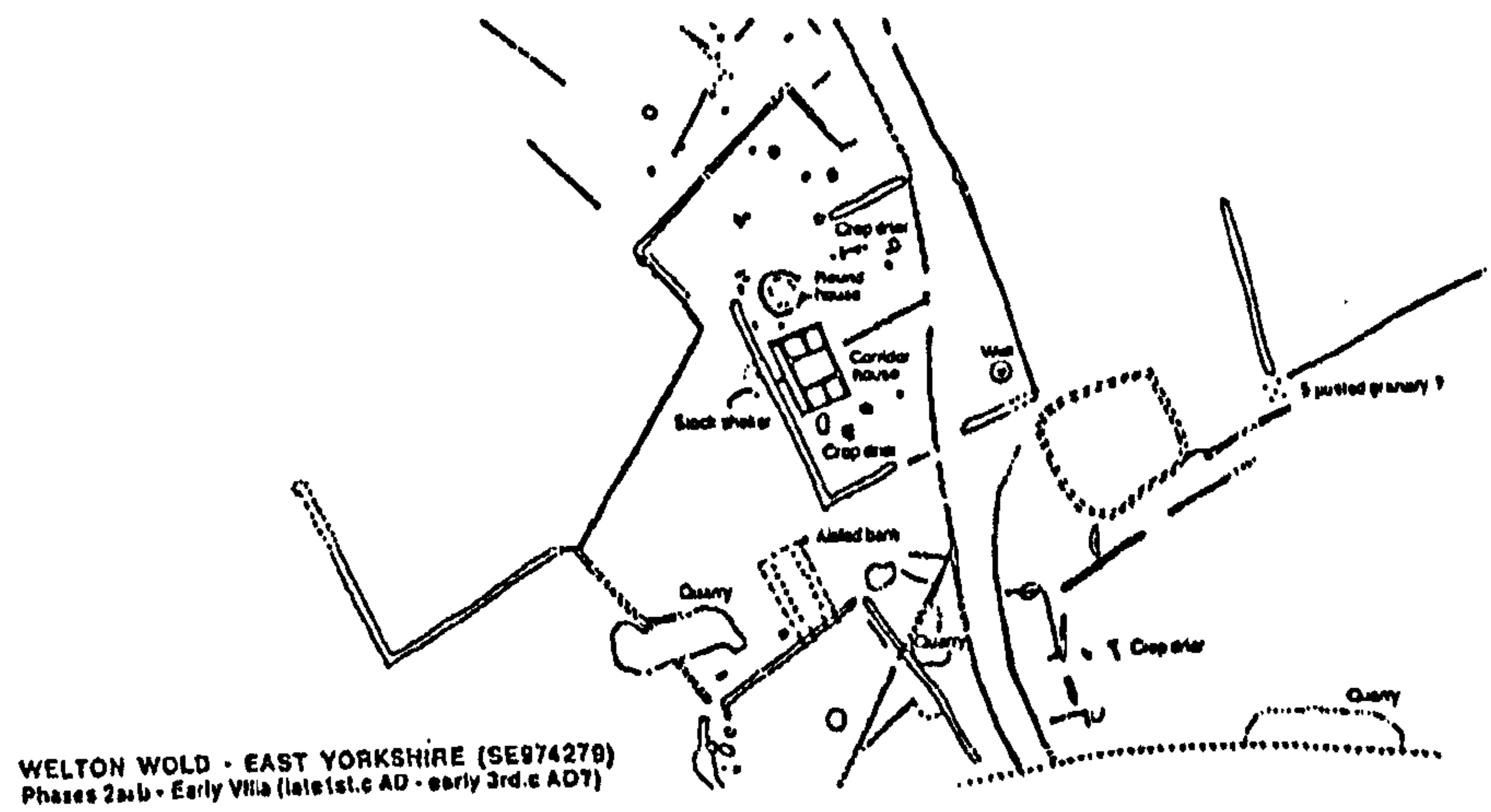


Figure 6. Phases at Welton Wold (Mackey 1998: figs. 3,4,5)

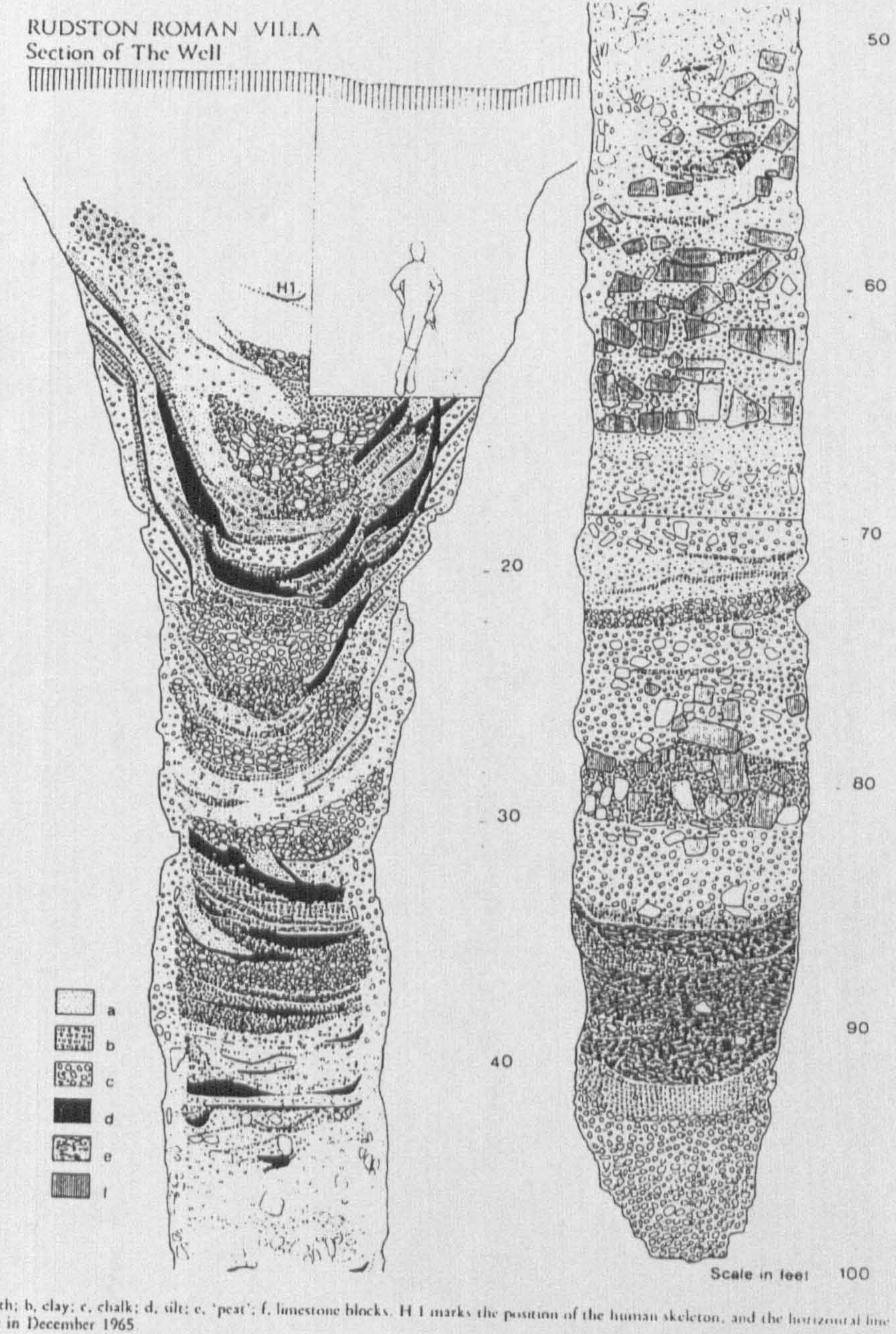
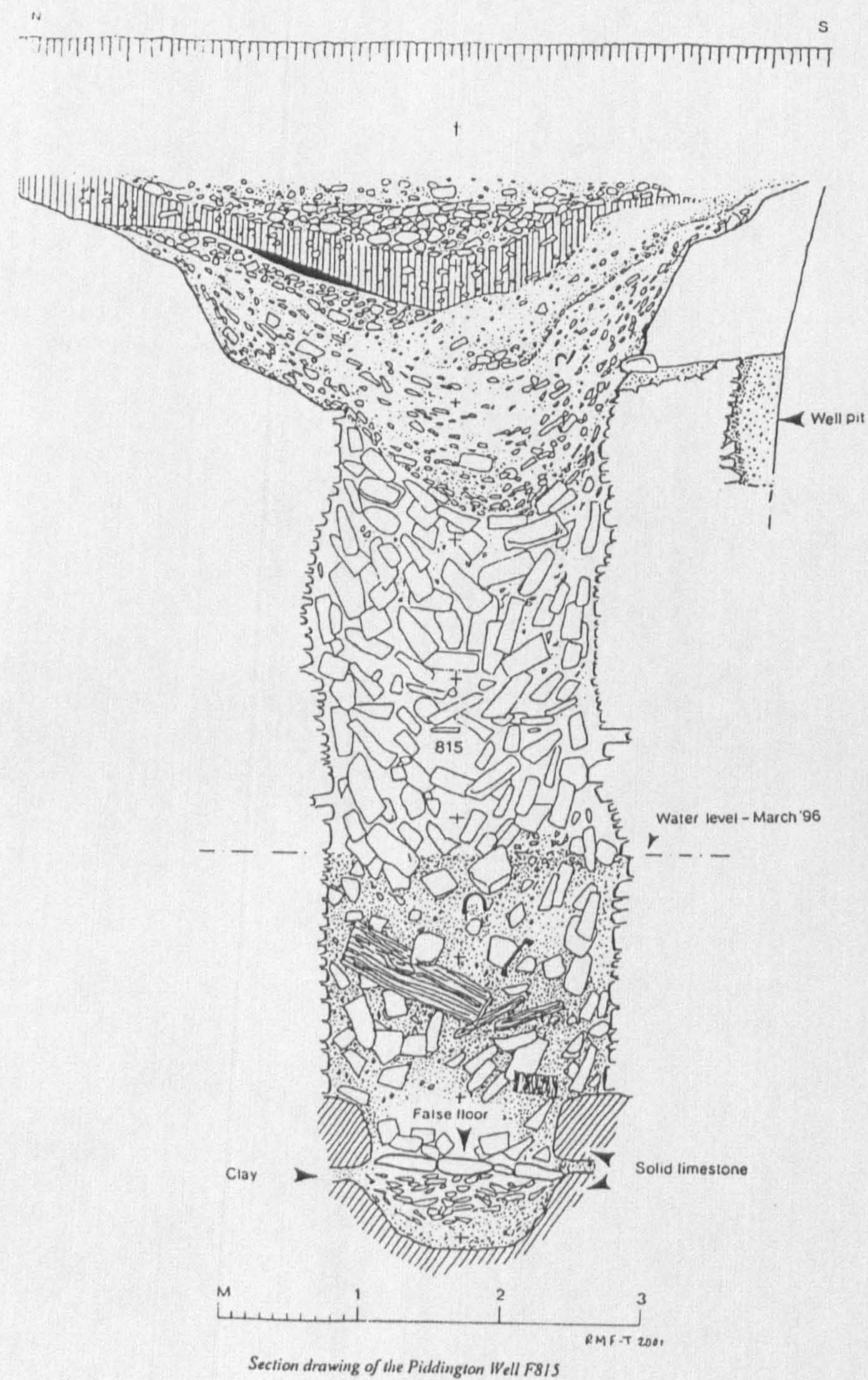


Figure 7. Wells at Piddington (Simpson 2002: 33) and Rudston (Pacitto 1980: 28)

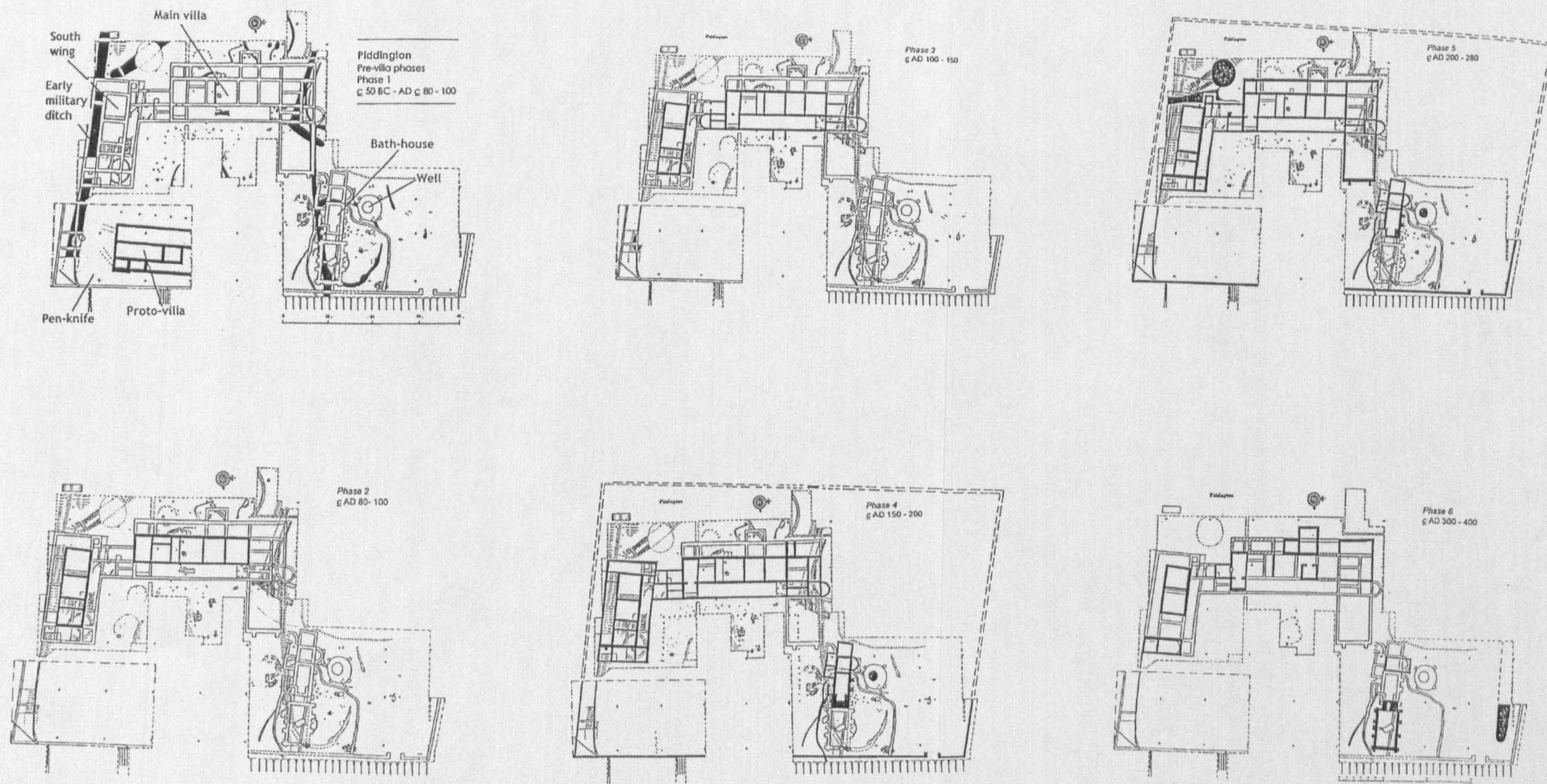


Figure 8. Phases at Piddington. Phase 1 (*Current Archaeology* 2002, 182: 80); Phases 2-6 (R.M. and D.E. Friendship-Taylor 2002: 4-6)

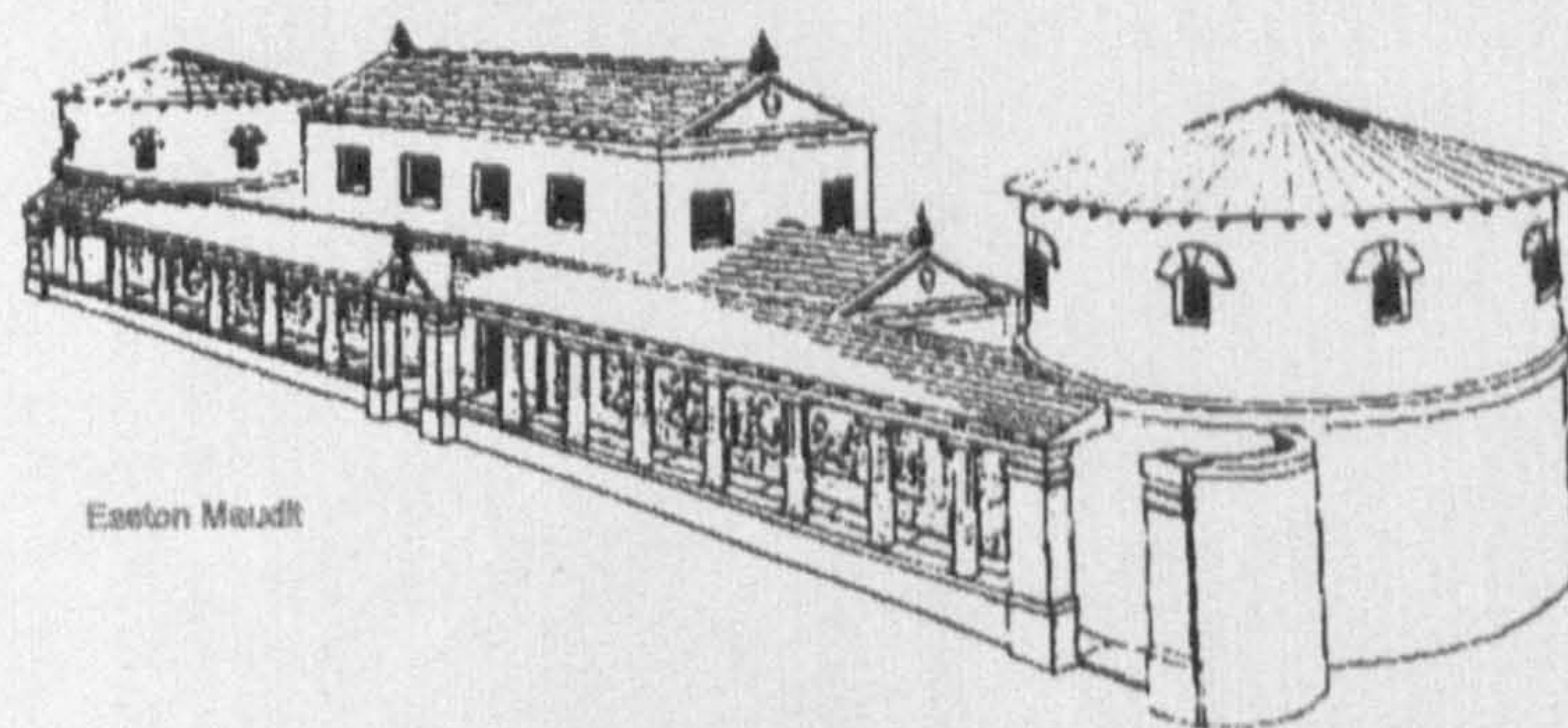
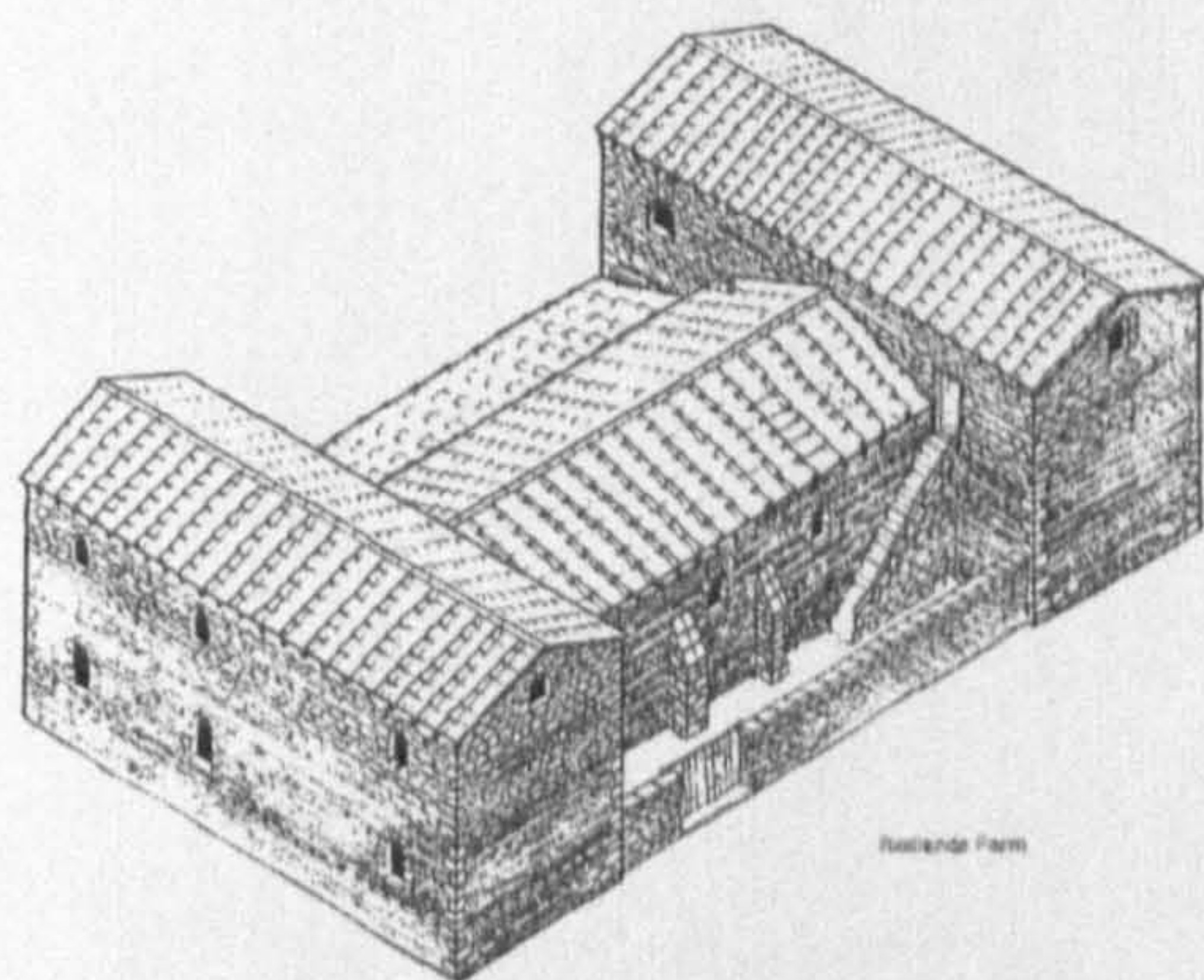
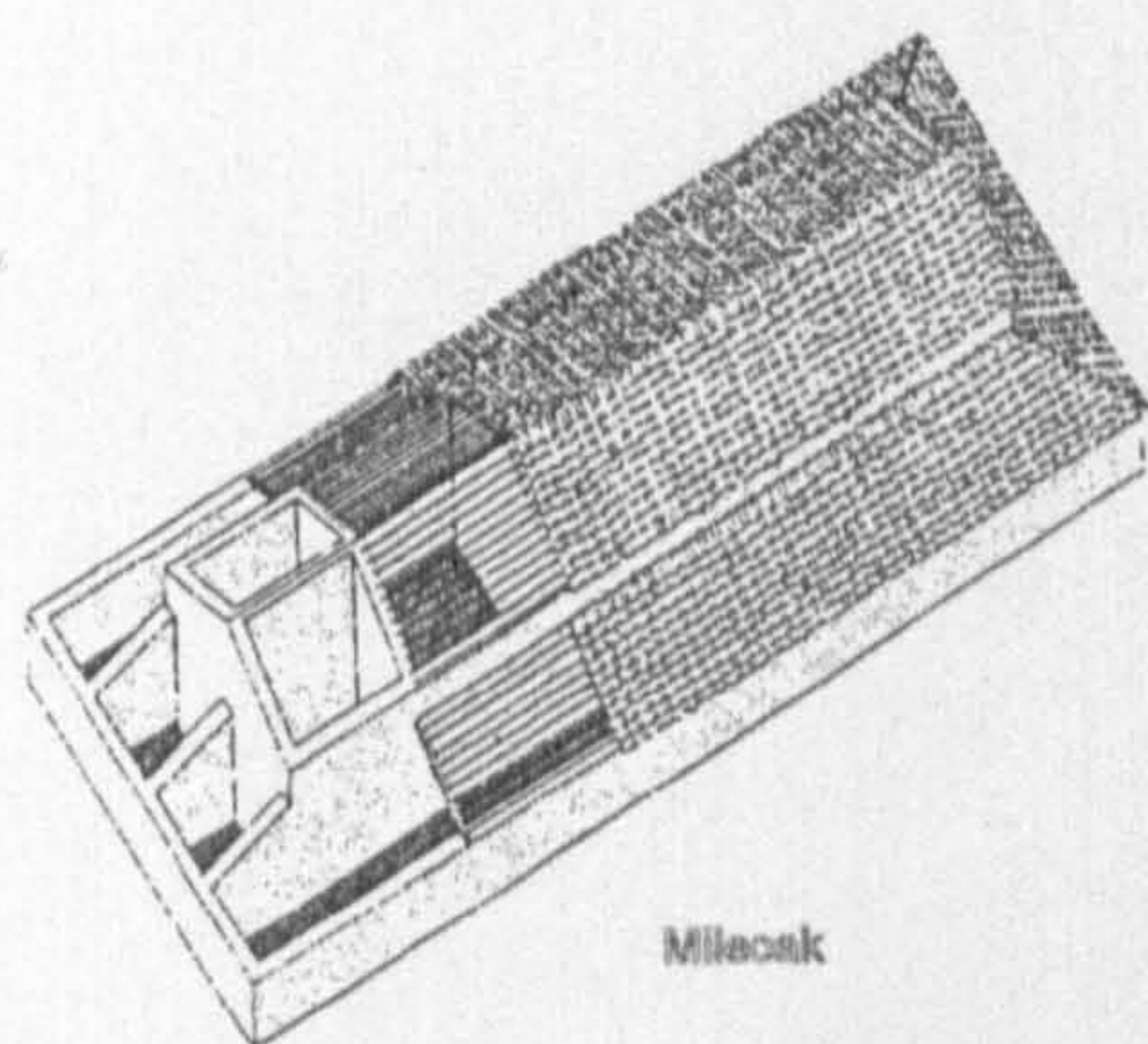
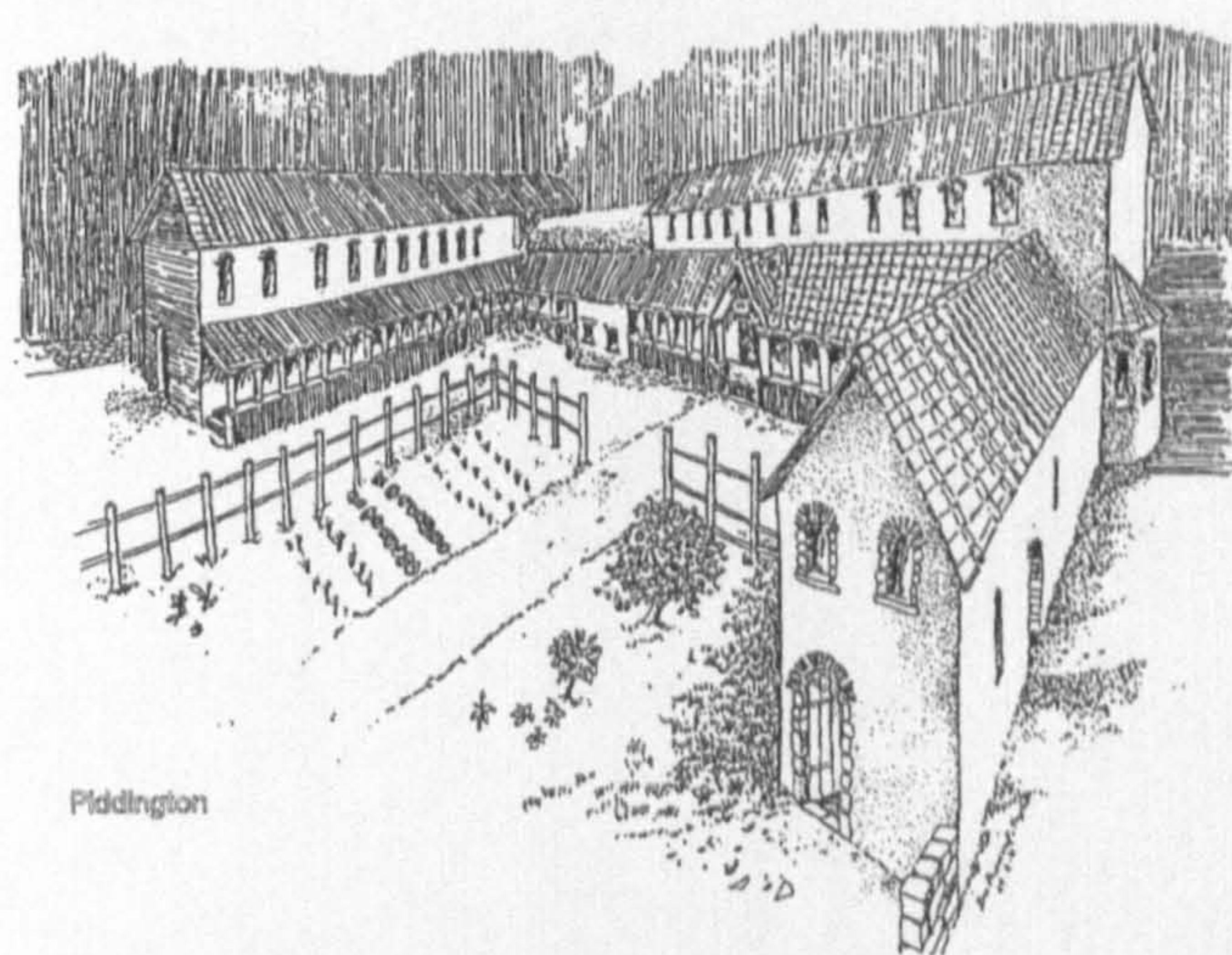
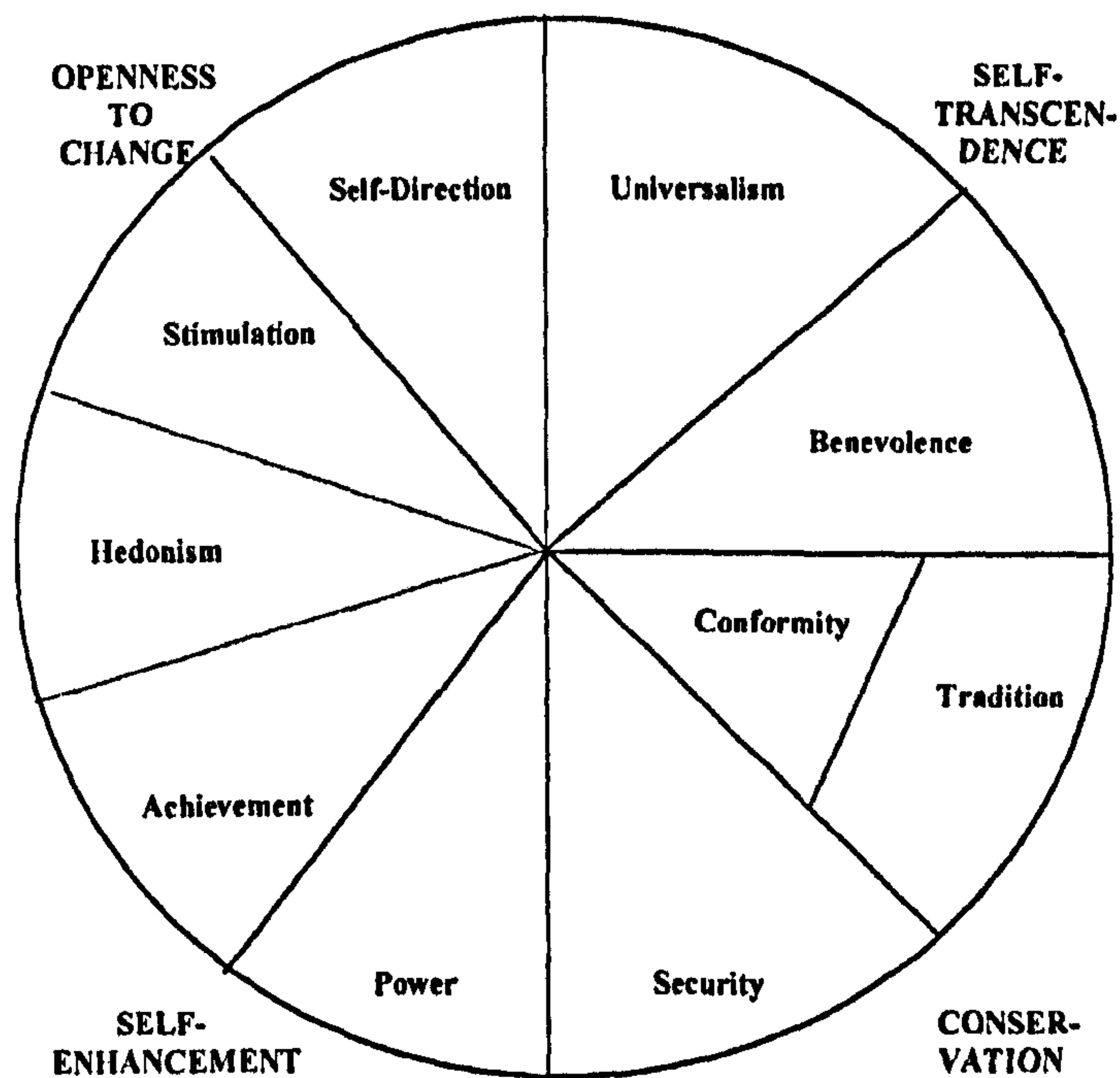
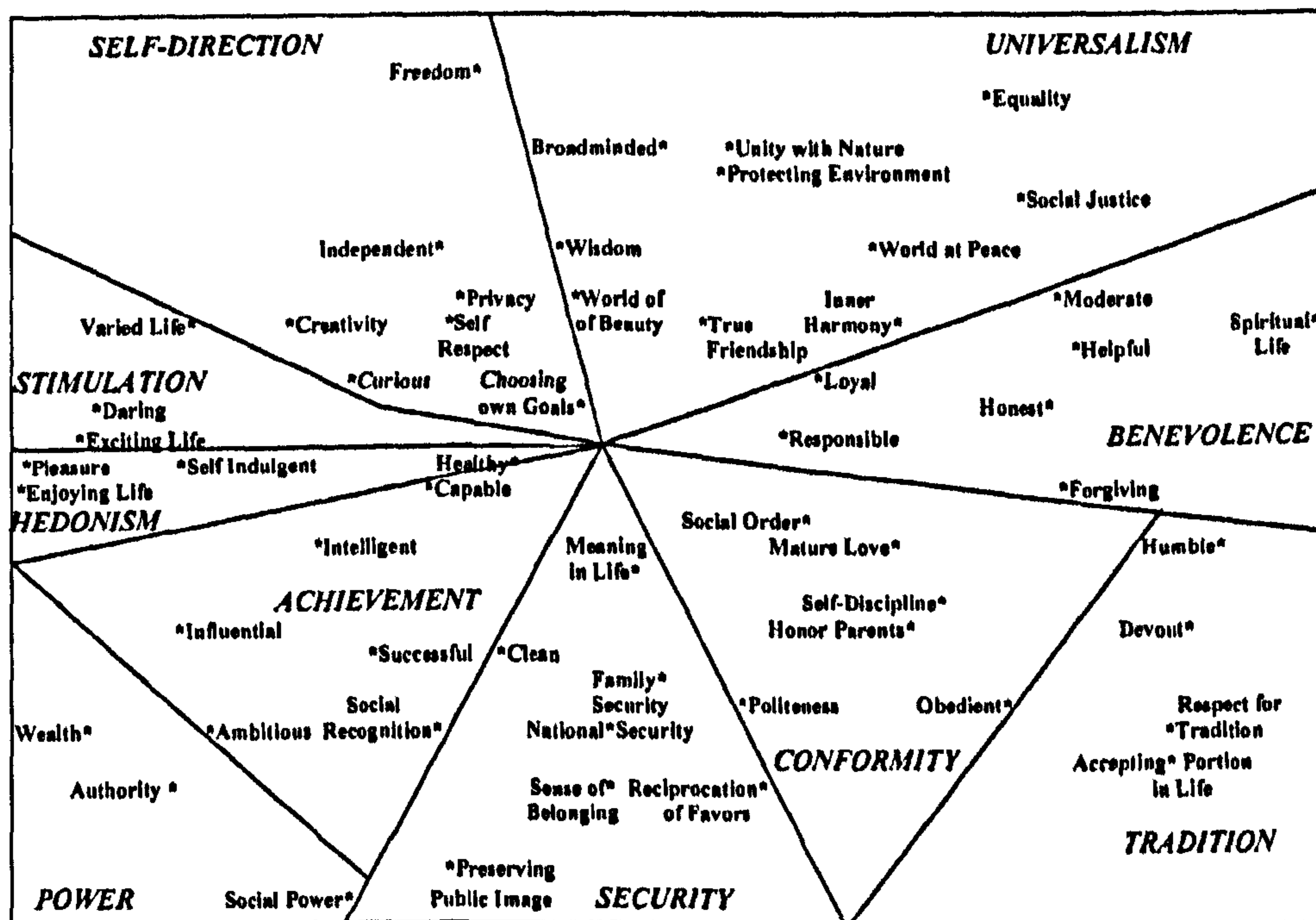


Figure 9. Imaginative reconstructions of the villas at Piddington (Roy Friendship-Taylor); Mileoak (Green and Draper 1978: 43); Redlands Farm (de la Bédoyère 1993: 65); and Easton Maudit (Marc Line). Not to scale



Theoretical structure of relations among of values.



SSA map of observed relations among values

Figure 10. Schwartz Value Scheme. Theoretical structure of relations among values (Schwartz, in press)

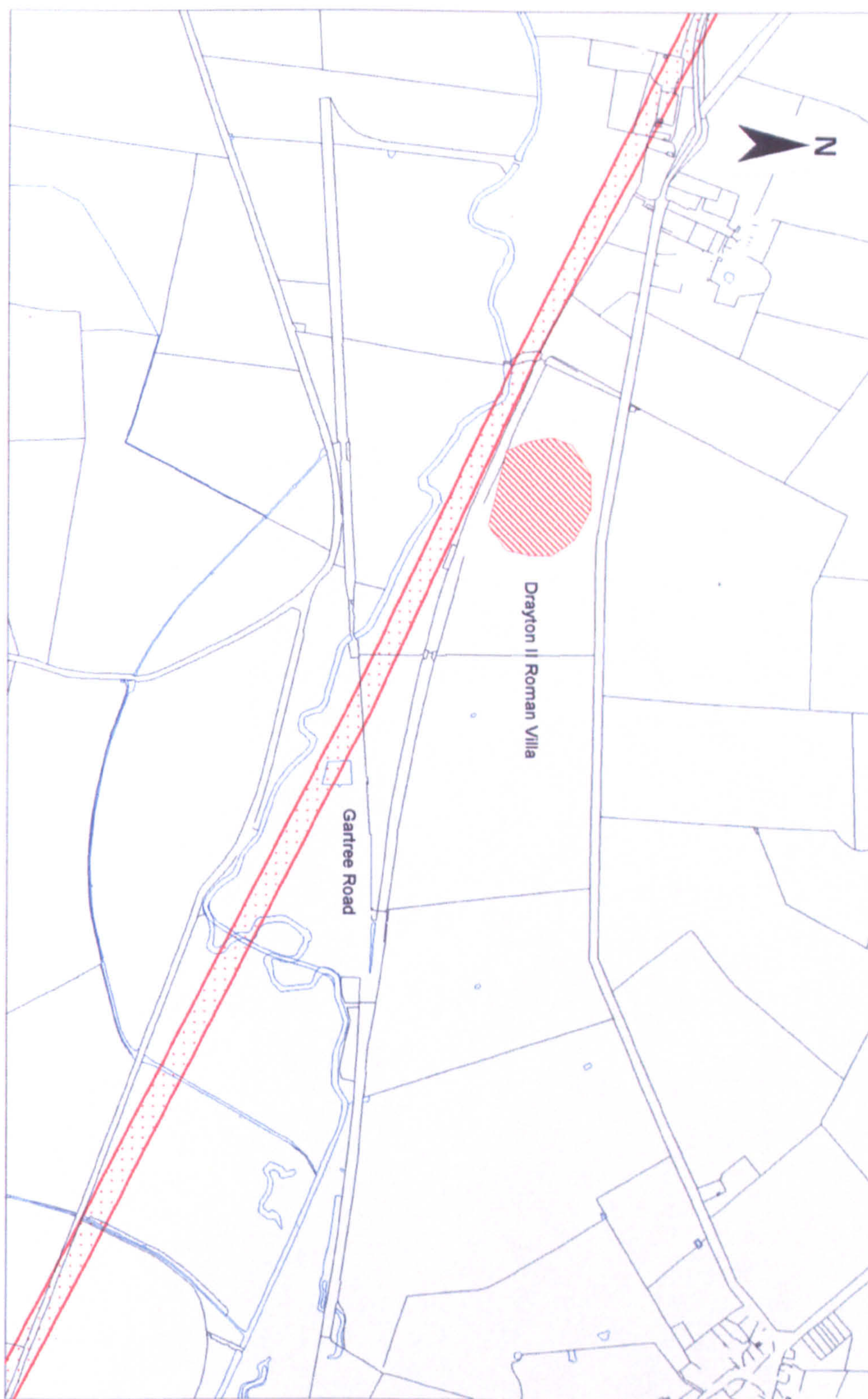


Figure 11. Drayton II villa and the Gartree Road (Source: SMR Leicestershire)

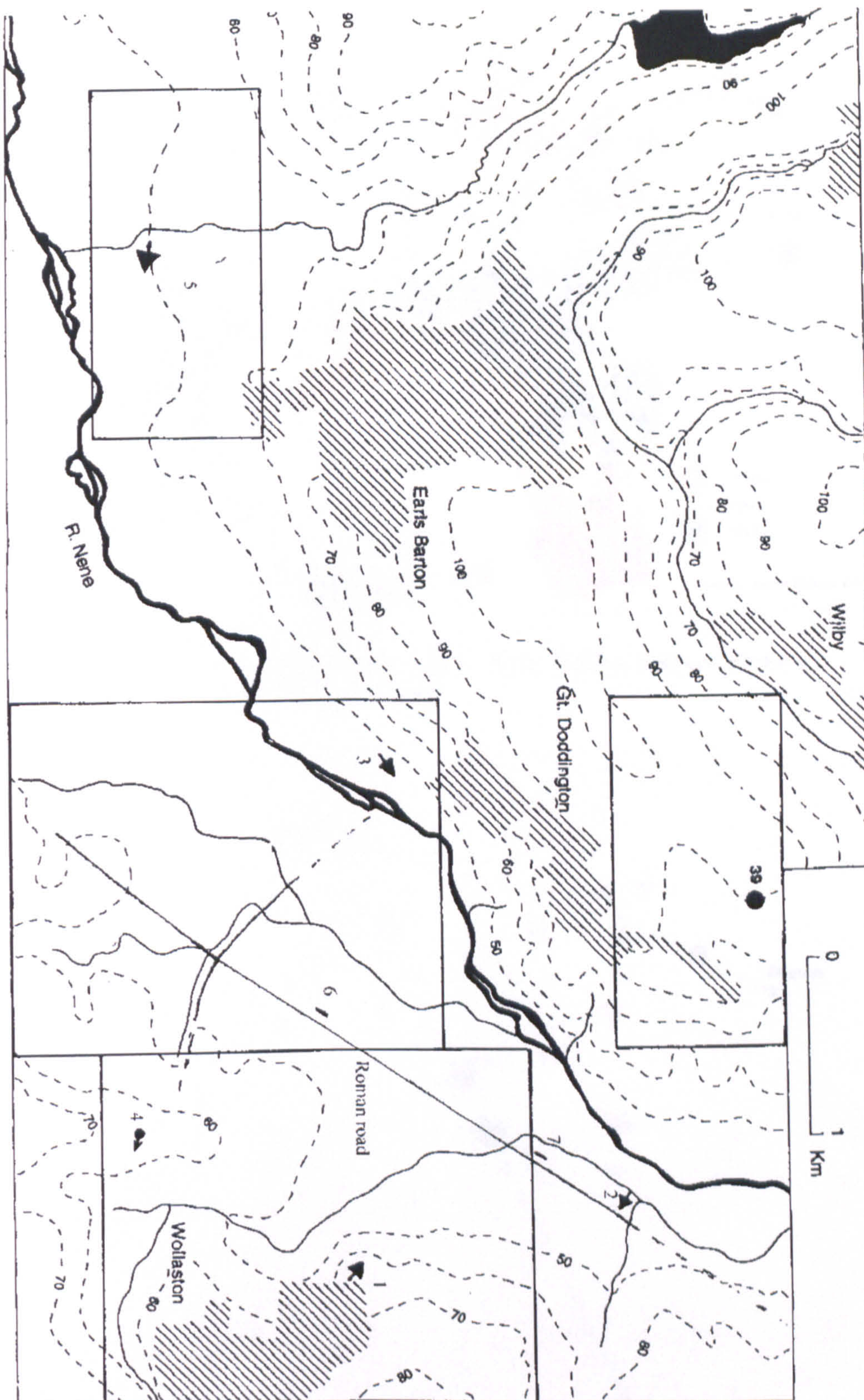


Figure 12. 'Theatre of social display' in the Middle Nene Valley (Source: Jeremy Taylor pers.comm.) Relevant villas are: 1 (Wollaston); 2 (Wollaston Quarry); 3 (Great Doddington); 5 (Earls Barton)

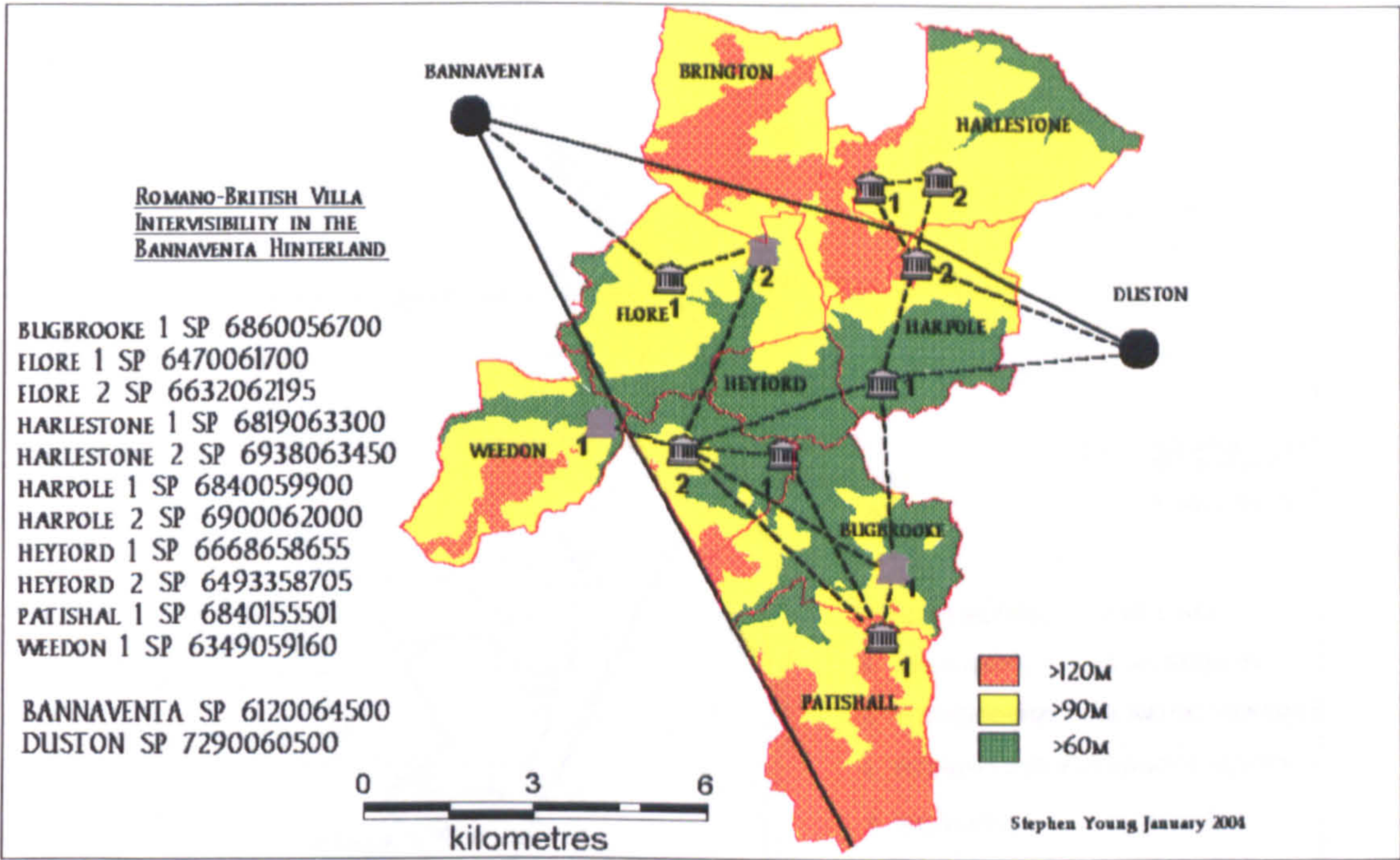


Figure 13a. Inter-visibility in the Upper Nene Valley derived from observations in the field

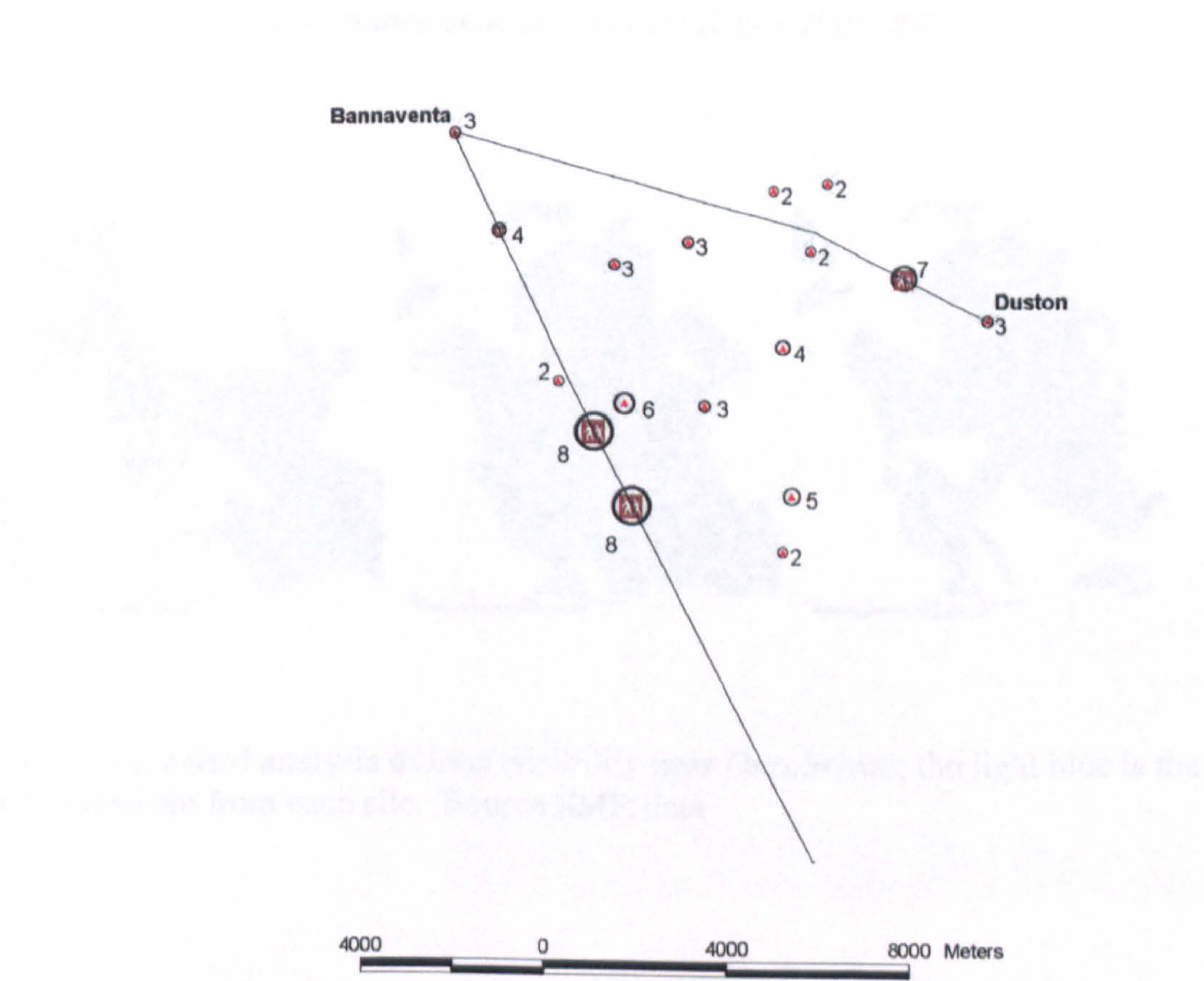


Figure 13b. A representation of the number of villas viewable from certain points derived from viewshed analysis. (For reasons related to the insensitivity of the terrain model there is not an exact correspondence with fig. 13a)

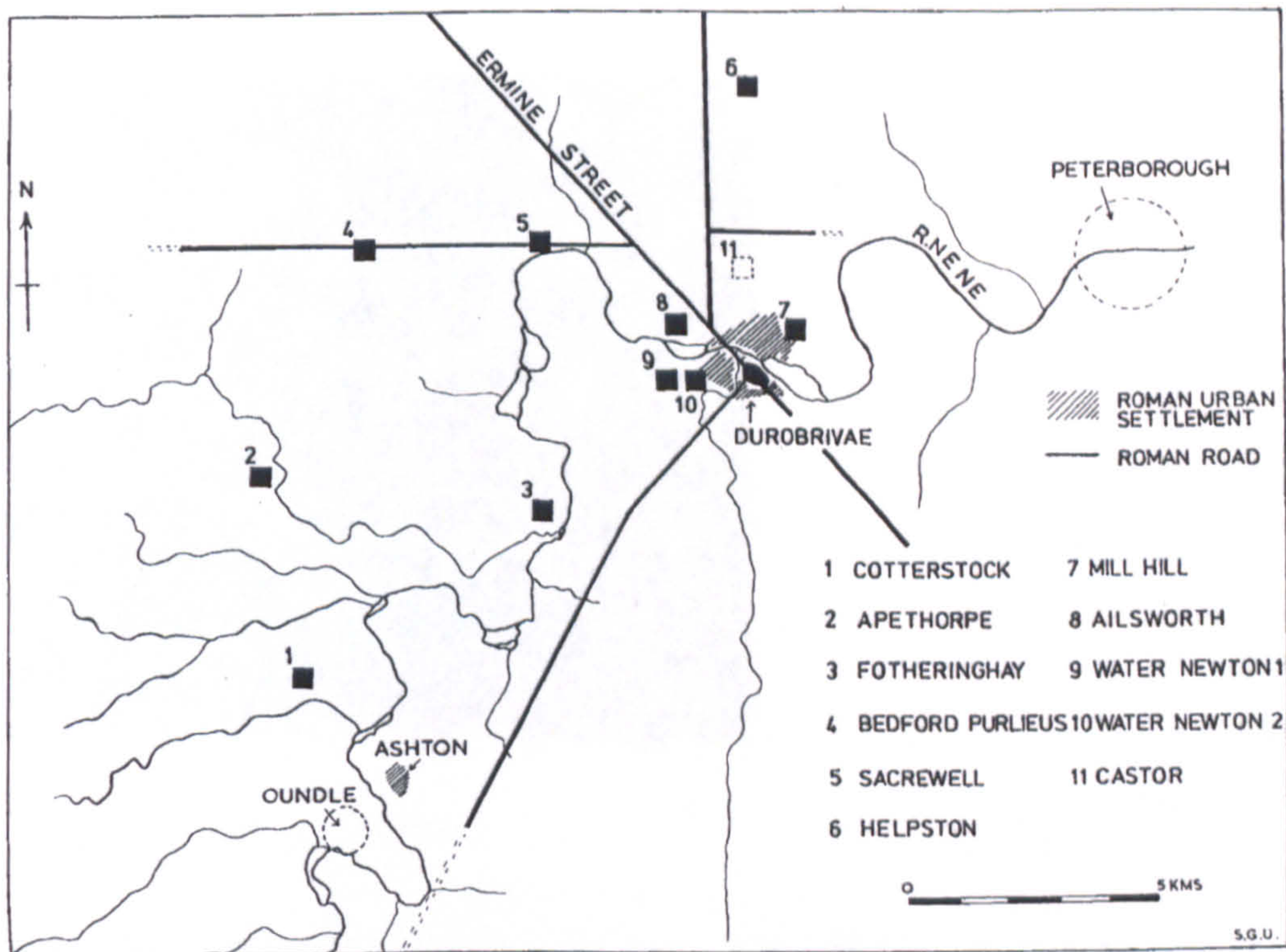
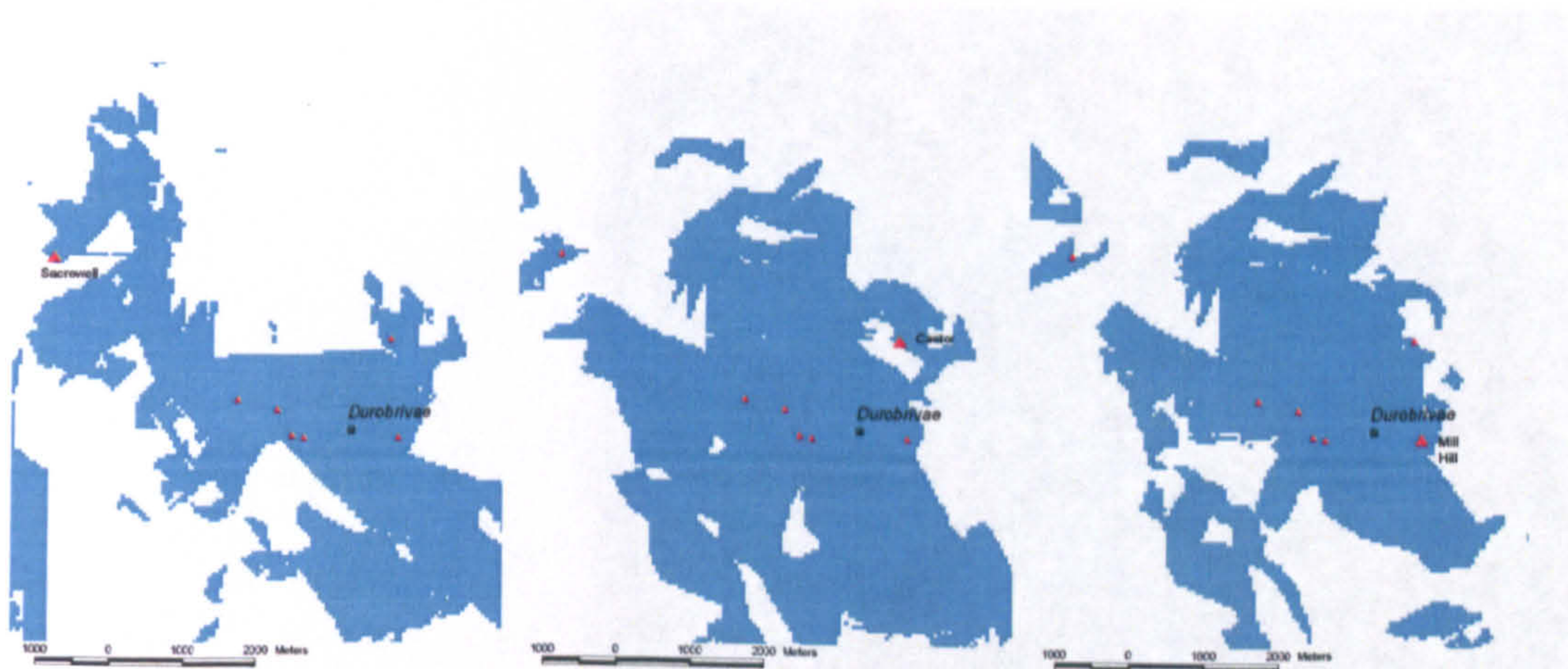


Figure 14a. Villa locations near *Durobrivae* (Upex 2001: 88)



14b. Viewshed analysis of inter-visibility near *Durobrivae*; the light blue is the area viewable from each site. Source SMR data

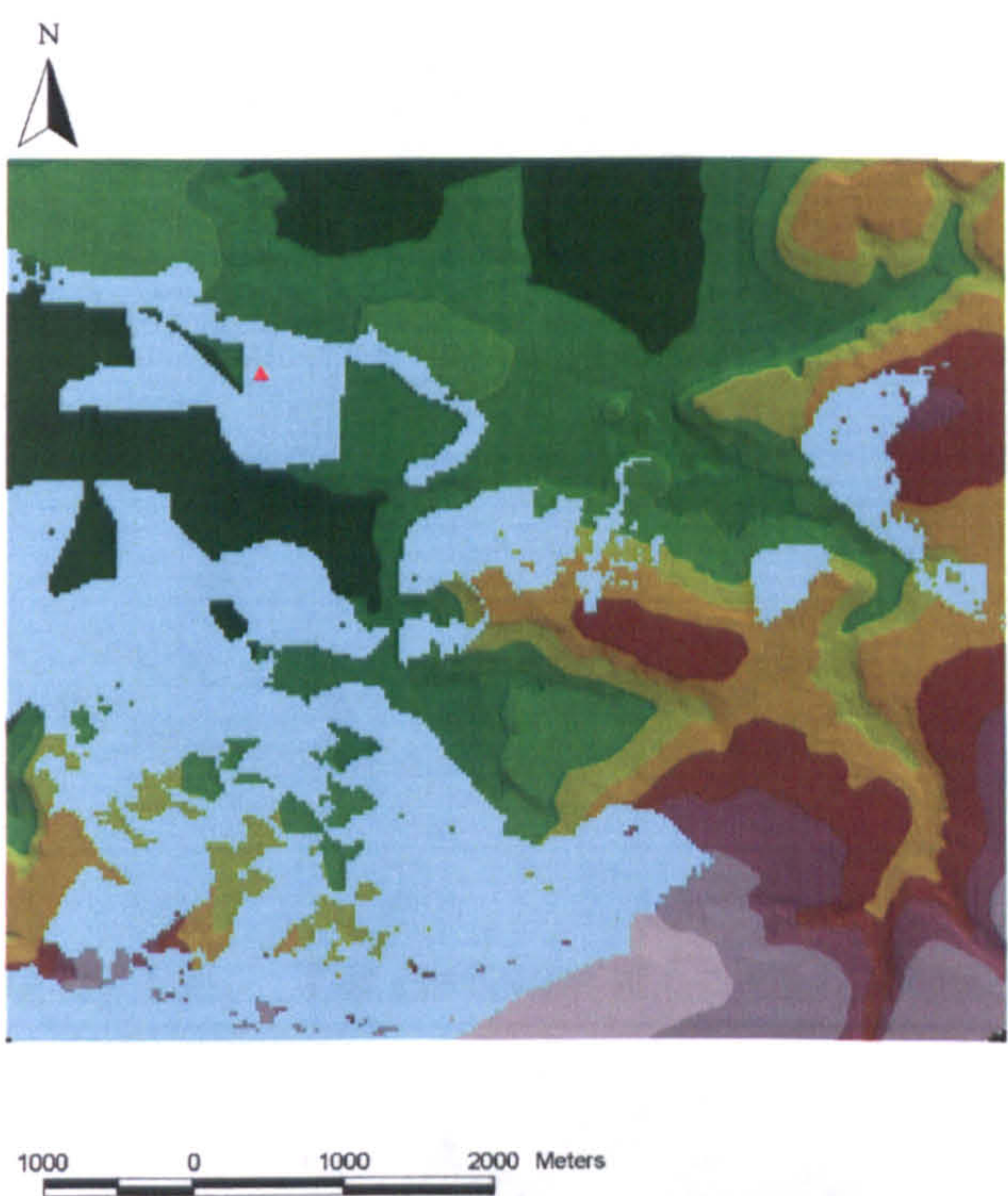


Figure 15a. Viewshed analysis of Langton villa. The area in light blue is ‘visible’ from the site

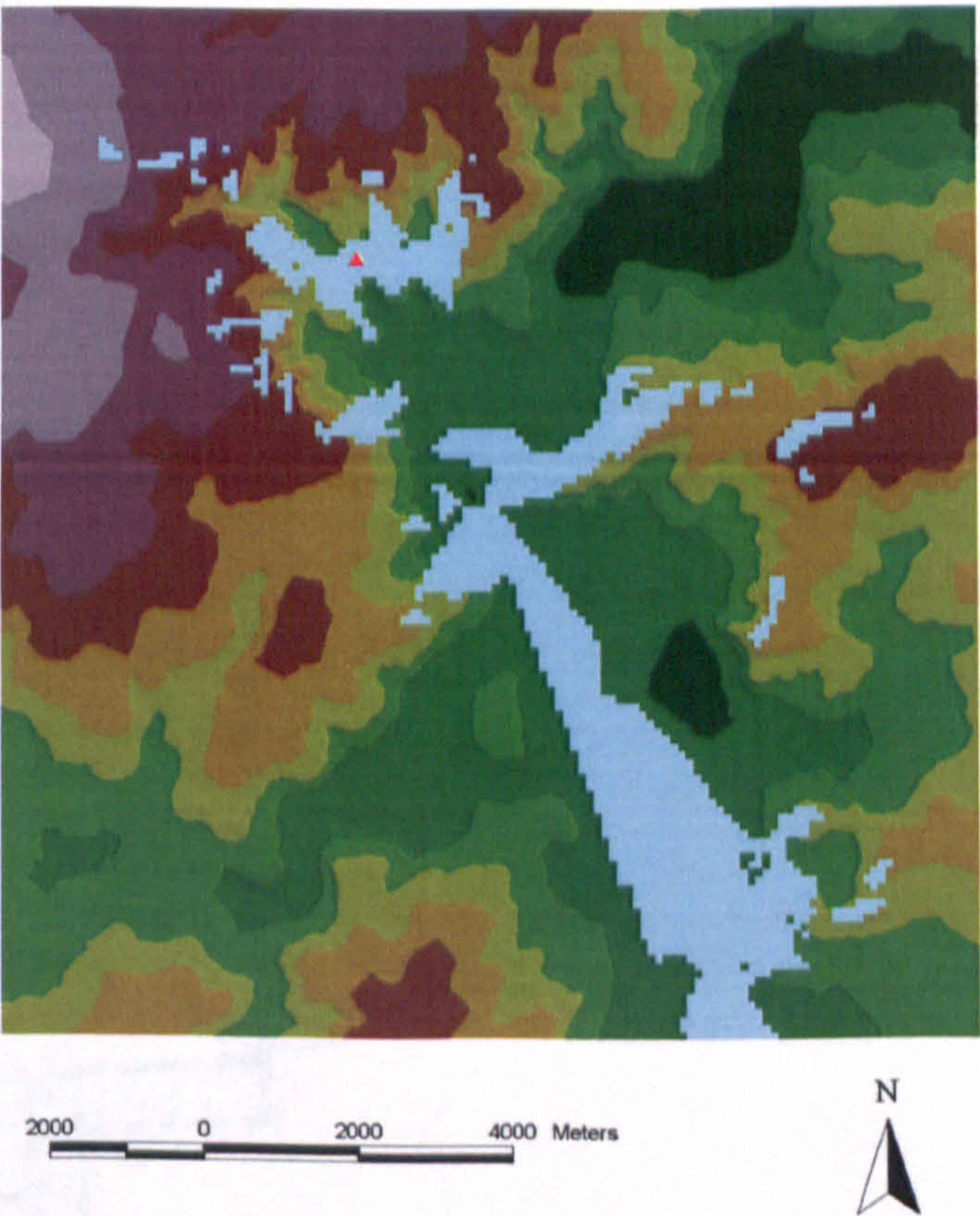


Figure 15b. Viewshed analysis of Ravenstone villa. The area in light blue is ‘visible’ from the site

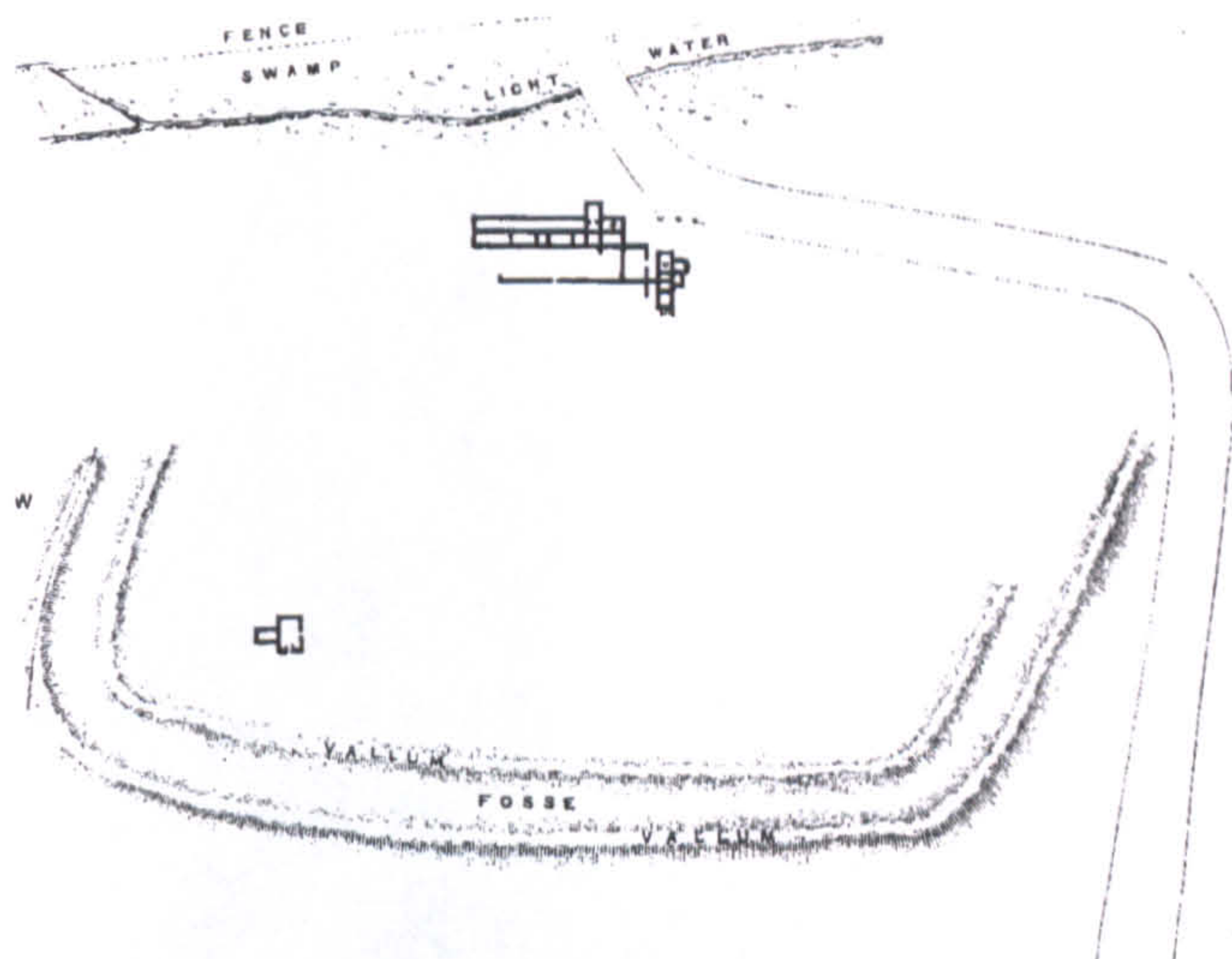


Figure 16a. The enclosure at Castle Dykes (Lukis 1875)

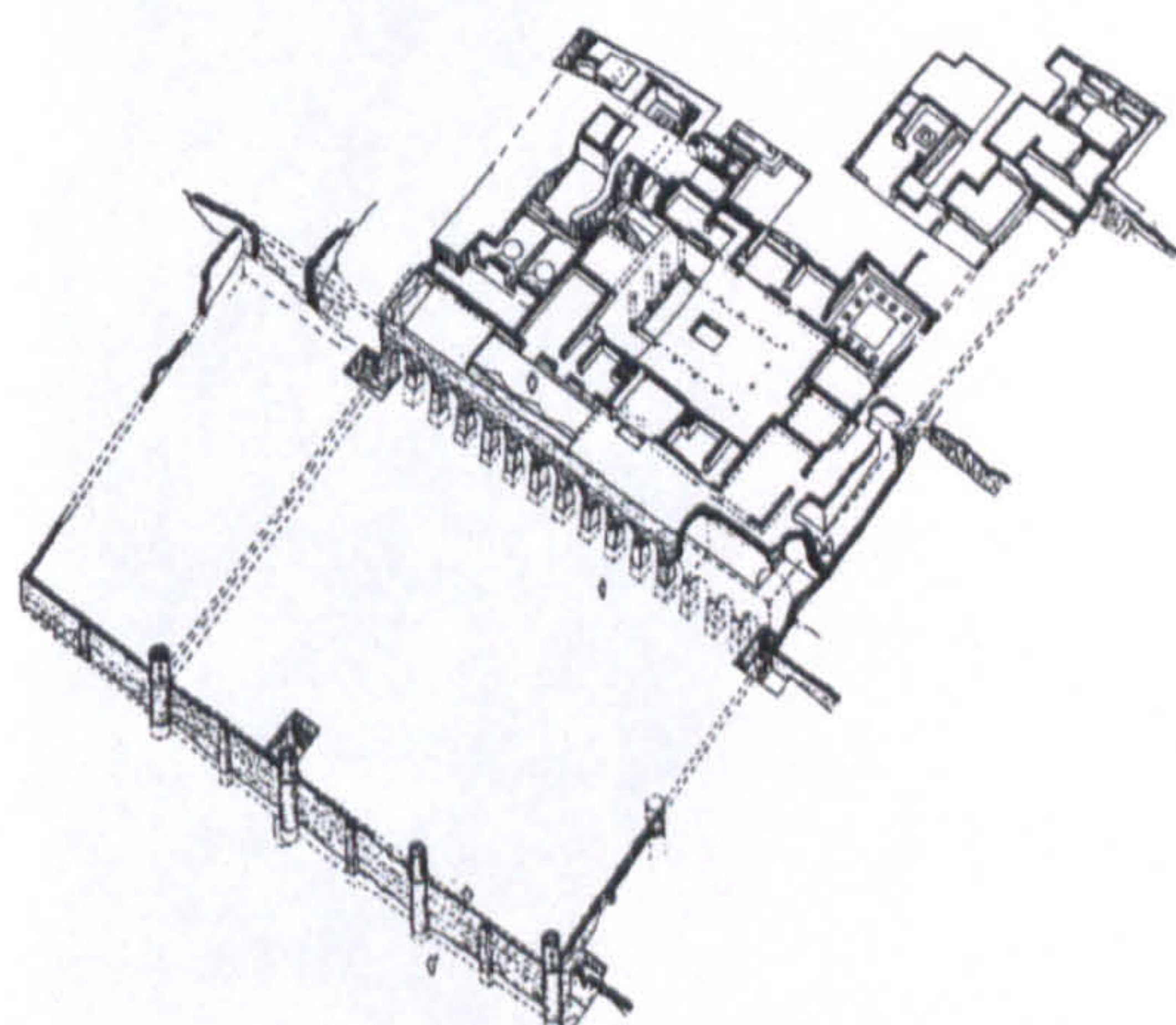


Figure 16b. The turreted wall at Settefinestre (Perkins 2000: 187)

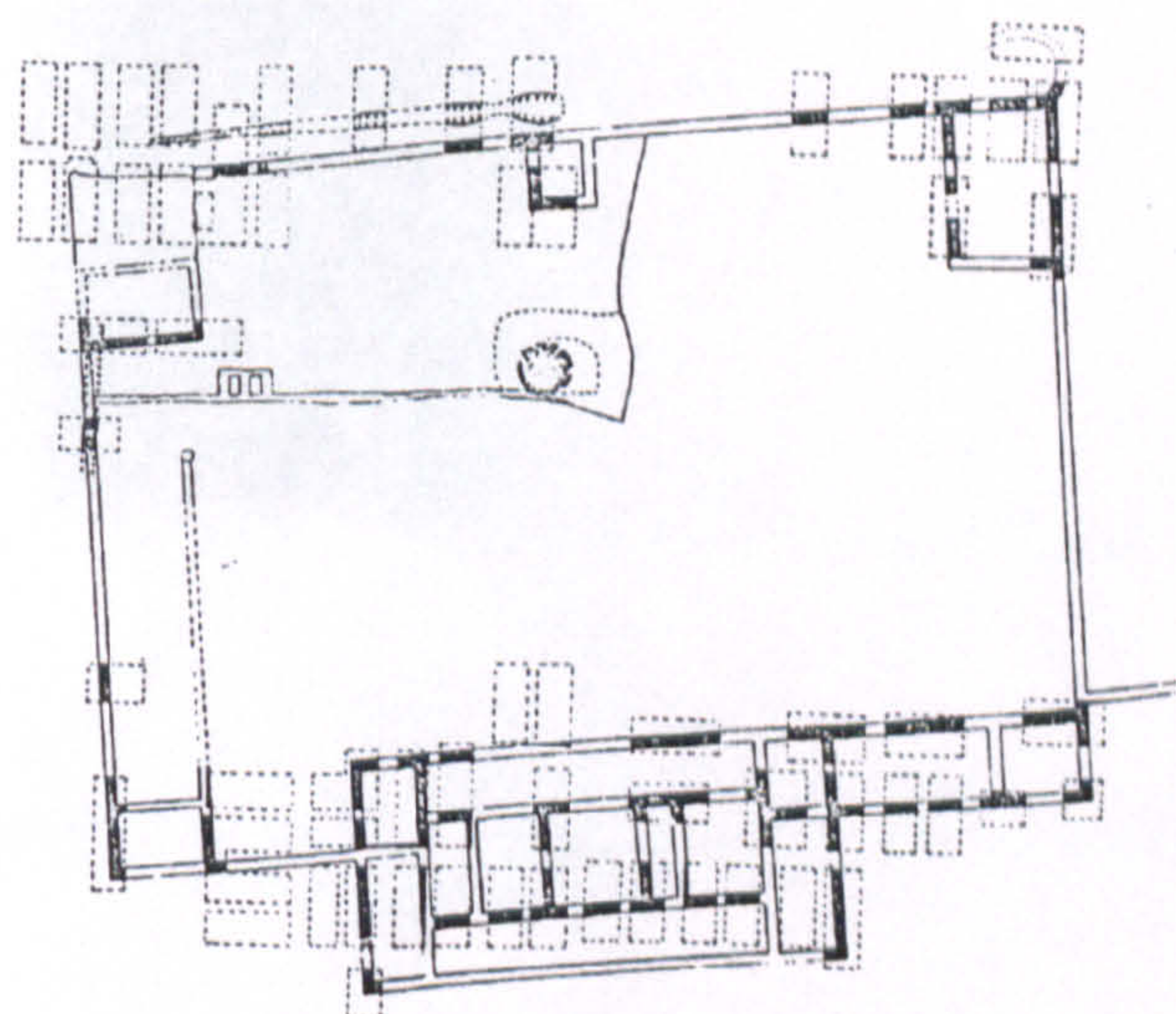


Figure 16c. Deanshanger villa with enclosure wall (Monk 1982)

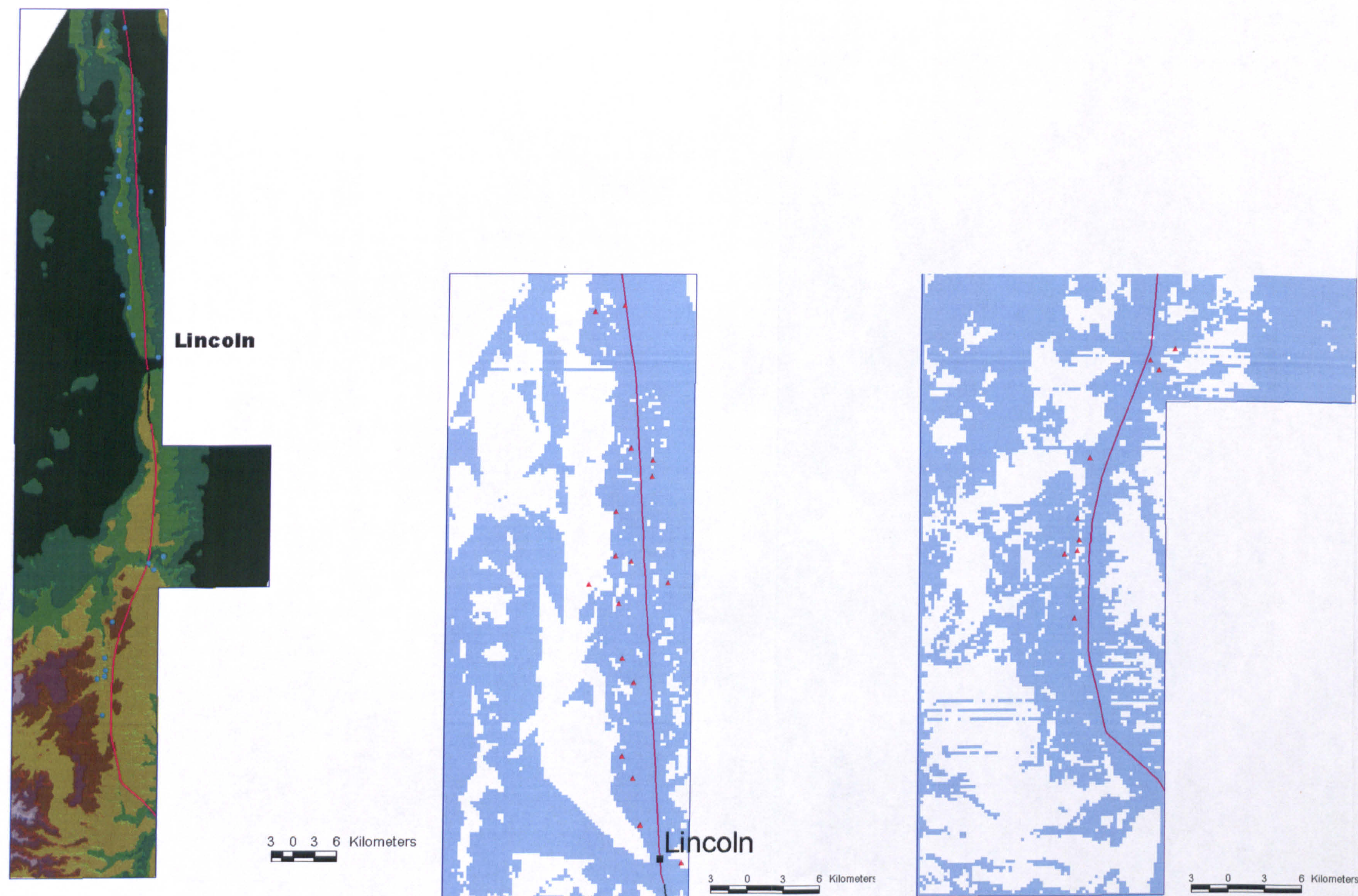


Figure 17. Inter-visibility analysis between a 90km stretch of Ermine Street in Lincolnshire and 25 sites of known and possible villas (source: SMR records). The area in light blue is 'visible' from the road. Terrain model illustrated to the left. The observer's eye-level is at 1.68m and the villa is presumed to be 3m high

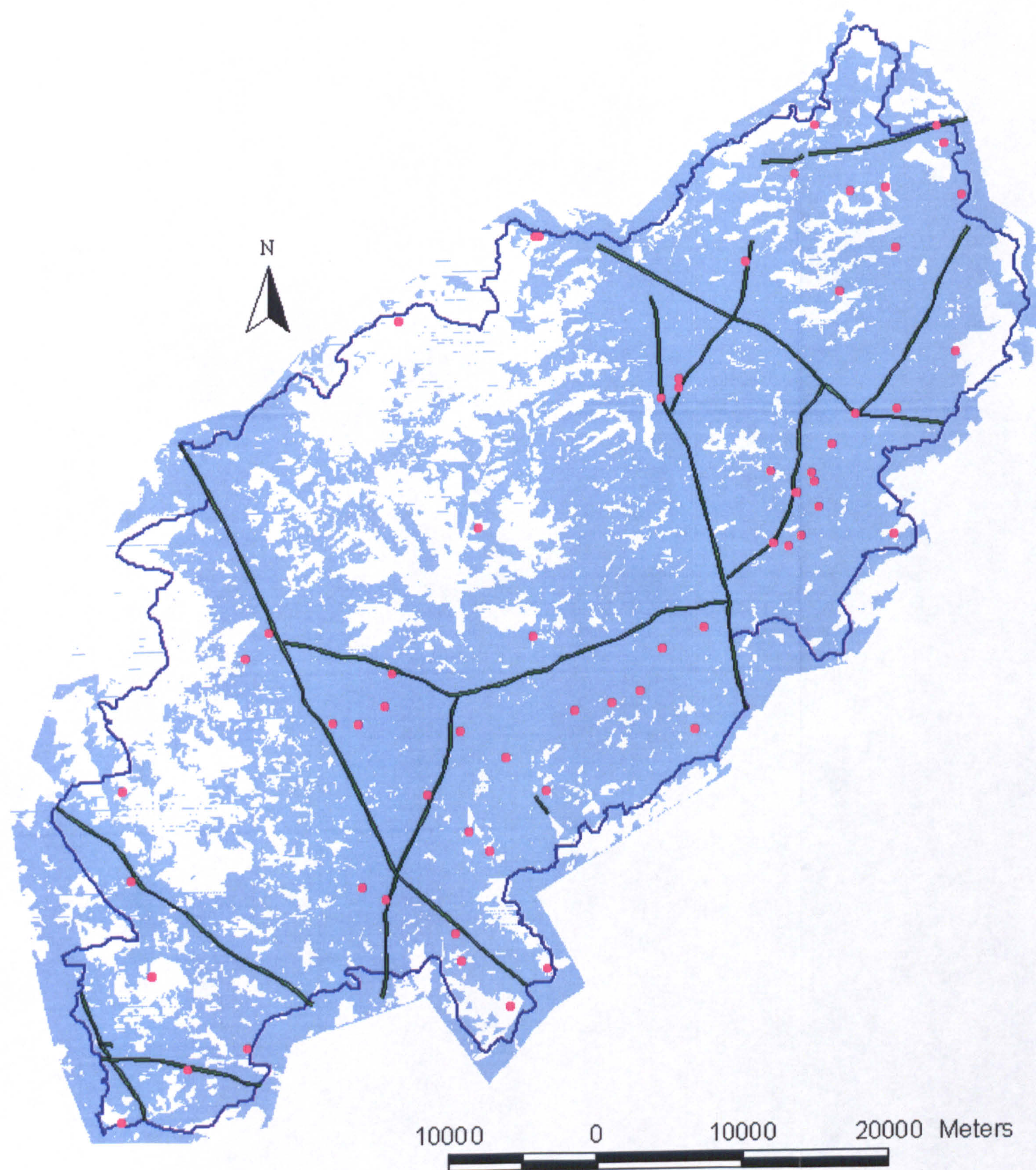


Figure 18. Inter-visibility analysis in Northamptonshire between roads and sites of known and possible villas (source: SMR records). The area in light blue is 'visible' from the road. The observer's eye level is at 1.68m and the villa is presumed to be 3m high

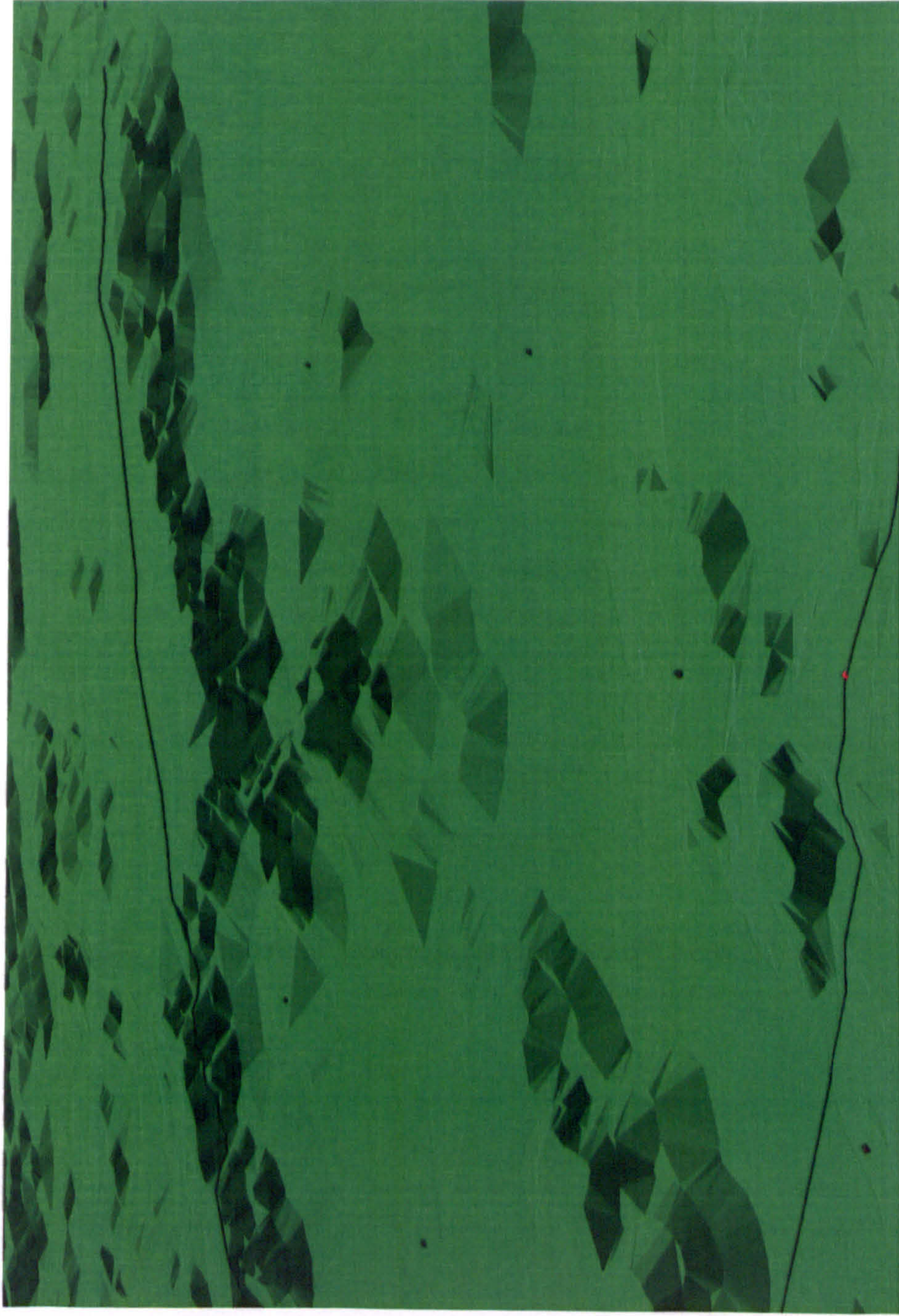
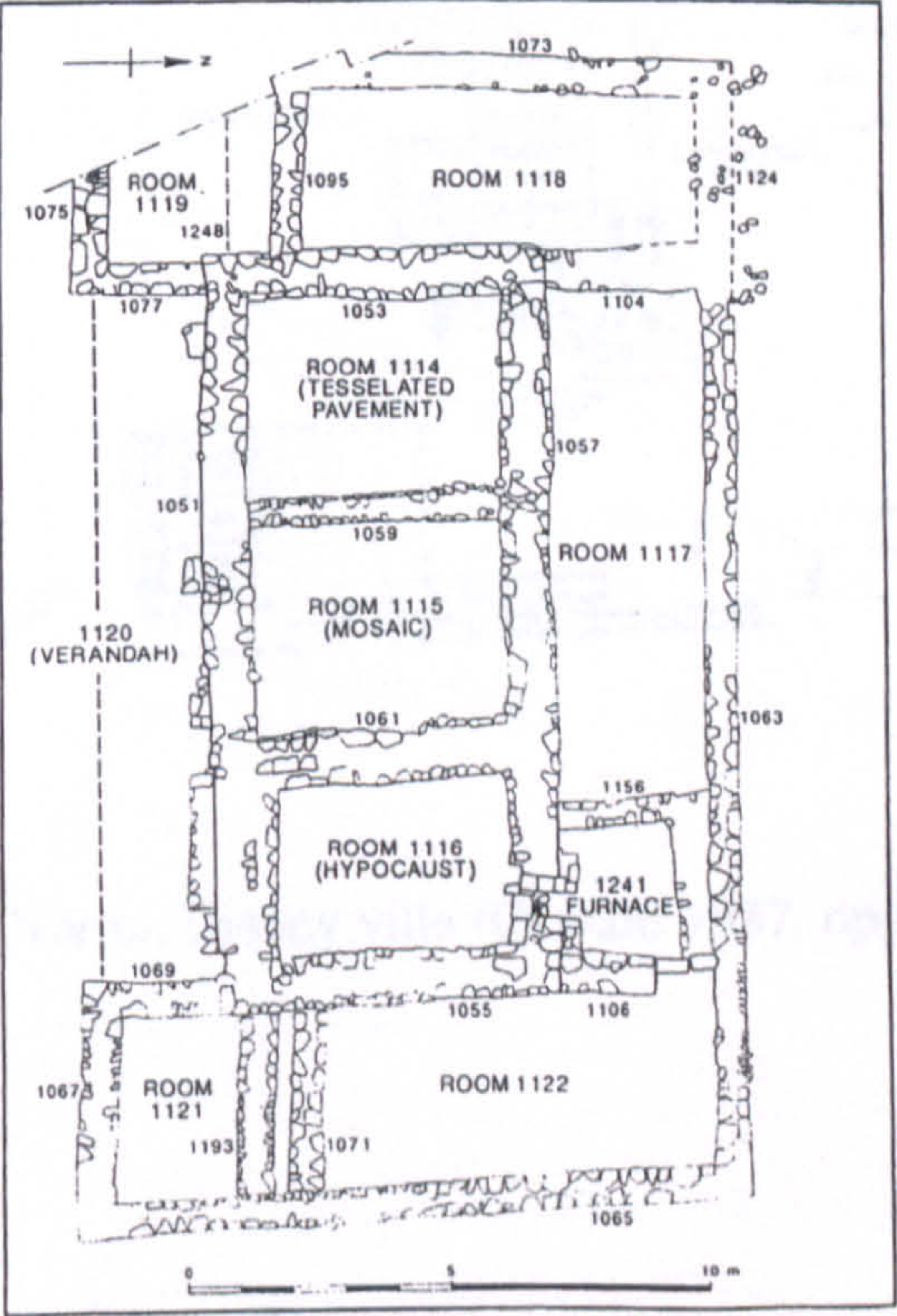
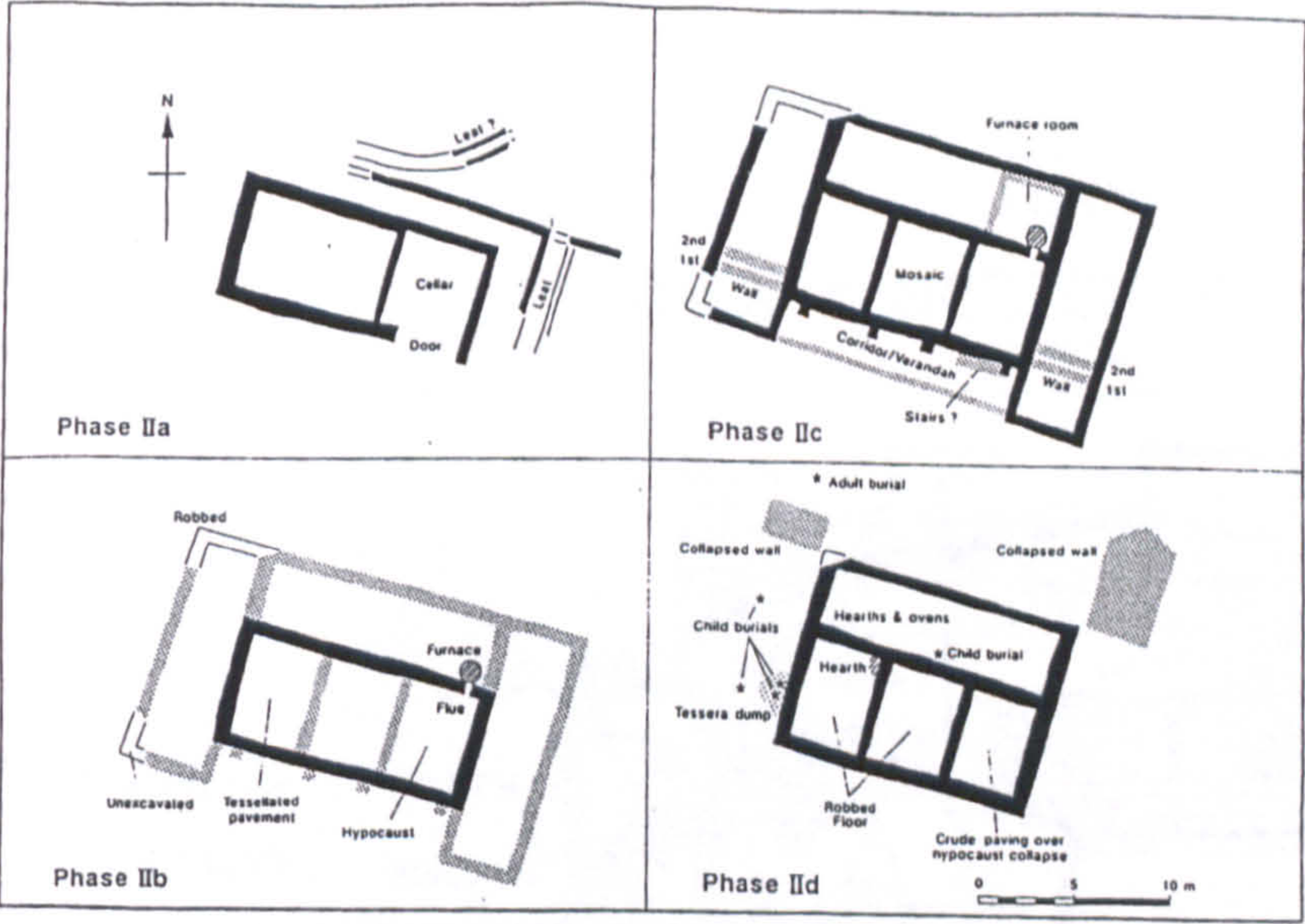


Figure 19. Observer view of villas in the Upper Nene Valley from a high point on the *Bannaventa* to Towcester road. The villas (six in total) are shown at their actual size as seen by the observer. The villas are presumed to be 25m x 10m x 3m in size



Phase IIc

Figure 20. Redlands Farm: villa phases (Keevill 1996: 47-48)

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Abbreviations used

Cicero. *Ep. Cicero's Letters to His Friends*
Cicero. *Off. The Offices*
Cicero. *De Leg. De Legibus (Laws)*
Columella. *R.R. Res Rustica. (On Agriculture)*
Horace. *Ep. The Satires and Epistles of Horace*
Martial. *Ep. Epigrams*
Pliny, The Elder. *NH. Natural History*
Pliny, The Younger. *Ep. Letters*
Seneca. *Ep. Letters from a Stoic*
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